

*The*  
**SOCIALIST**  
**ANNUAL**

1925

I.L.P. INFORMATION COMMITTEE  
14 GREAT GEORGE STREET  
WESTMINSTER, LONDON.  
S.W.1

THE  
**SOCIALIST ANNUAL**  
IS PREPARED BY THE  
**I.L.P. INFORMATION COMMITTEE**

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- ¶ The I.L.P. Information Committee was formed in 1919 to provide essential information for Socialist policy and propaganda.
  - ¶ It publishes once a week *Notes for Speakers* containing up-to-date facts and figures on the topic of the hour, and also *Monthly Notes for Speakers* dealing with questions in a fuller and more comprehensive form. Both kinds of notes are supplied to subscribers for 15/- per year post free.
  - ¶ All Subscribers are entitled to use the Information Bureau for any special information they may require.
  - ¶ The I.L.P. Information Committee conducts enquiries on behalf of the Party and prepares important reports like those already published on Agriculture, Compensation, Bank and Credit.
  - ¶ It publishes valuable Study Circle Syllabuses for Socialist and Labour Educational Groups and Classes.
  - ¶ It has been described by Ramsay MacDonald as "The Spear Head of the Labour Movement."
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## INTRODUCTION

THE *Socialist Annual* is not an attempt to add a new ordinary year book to the already overcrowded market. It seeks, indeed, to serve an entirely different purpose. That is to provide facts and figures in such a form as to be of the maximum value to busy men and women who carry on propaganda for the Socialist and Labour movement.

In this, its first year of publication, we are conscious that the Annual is far from complete and that experience will lead to a greater knowledge of what our propagandists and students require most in a reference book of this description. To this end we shall be very glad to receive suggestions from our readers as to the incorporation of additional information which in their opinion will make the *Socialist Annual* of greater usefulness.

The compilation of the Annual has been a co-operative venture, and the I.L.P. Information Committee desires to express its grateful thanks and appreciation to all who have helped in research work, in the contribution of articles, and in the preparation of the publication for the Press.

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# IDEALS

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## THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE LABOUR PARTY AND I.L.P.

By CLIFFORD ALLEN  
(Chairman of I.L.P.)

**I**T is the function of a Socialist Annual to provide enquiring readers with information. One question that is often asked is "Why must there be an I.L.P. as well as a Labour Party?" This preface is intended to be an answer to that query.

The existence of the two organisations is due in part to the nature of their constitutions and membership and in part to their political programmes and tactics. If these reasons can be shown to justify the separate existence of the two bodies, then the drawbacks of any slight confusion locally or nationally are insignificant as compared with the wider advantages to the whole movement that result.

The Labour Party is a large organisation, whose present constitution gives the dominant voice both on its Executive and in its Annual Conference to the great Trade Unions. In other words the Labour Party is not as yet an association of local Labour parties, but a federation of national Trade Unions and Socialist bodies with the local Labour Parties as junior partners. There is no doubt that this somewhat curious constitution has been of advantage to the British Labour movement, since it has enabled the development of labour opinion and policy to be accompanied by the support of the great mass of organised Trade Unionists. The Continental Socialist Parties, which are for the most part differently composed, have sometimes suffered by lack of sufficient direct mass support for their proposals.

Many years ago some of us outlined suggestions in favour of the Labour Party being formed solely of local Labour Parties, but Mr. Arthur Henderson, the recent architect-in-chief of the Labour Party, wisely retarded our enthusiasm, and in due course proposed instead the first stage of the progress towards this desired goal. Hence arose the present constitution. No doubt further developments will take place later.

Meantime it necessarily follows that the policy of the Labour Party must keep in step with its constitution, and it must naturally be expected that, just as the executive and conference of the Party are dominated by the Trade Unions, so will this be reflected in the Party policy. This need not be considered in any sense as bad, even from the Socialist point of view, but it is likely to influence the degree to which the Socialist basis of the Labour Party can find immediate expression. The emphasis placed upon Socialism in the day to day political fighting of the Labour Party is less than can be the case in a smaller Socialist body like the I.L.P.

Secondly—and closely related to this first point—is the extent to which the large membership of over four millions which comprises the Labour Party will affect the manner in which that Party is disposed to apply its Socialist basis. How far, for instance, will that consideration determine the choice of subjects which are to be included in its immediate programme? It is held to be vital that the Labour Party should carry with it the average opinion of this large body of supporters, and enrol recruits from amongst the new Labour voters. The process of political education towards Socialism and Pacifism of these adherents is believed to require that much of Labour's attention should be devoted to the grievances, needs and demands arising from their daily lives. That does not mean at all that the Labour Party excludes Socialist measures from its current programme. The nationalisation of mines and other similar projects are in the forefront of its proposals, but the drive behind those demands and the relative position they occupy in the Party's attention are naturally less than in the case of a small 100 per cent. Socialist body like the I.L.P. This is specially evident in the Labour Party's attitude to disarmament, where the programme is increasingly similar to that of the I.L.P., but the emphasis and practical interpretation different.

This argument may, of course, be put in another way. It may be said that the Labour Party programme is not so much determined by the average opinion of its membership as by the democratic principle as to what the public will permit. The programme of the I.L.P., on the other hand, is more concerned with what is actually required to remedy social evils than with the state of public opinion. Whilst neither the Labour Party

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nor the I.L.P. are prepared to desert constitutional methods in order to impose their programmes on the country, yet the I.L.P. believes that the Labour Party should not deviate too much from the remedies in which it believes in order to meet the opinion of the electorate. If these proposals should prove unacceptable to the country, the process of democracy can check their application, but the I.L.P. holds this method as preferable in the long run to a confusion of programme, too dependent upon the attitude of public opinion. In fact it has yet to be demonstrated to what extent Socialist proposals would really be rejected by the voters, if submitted by a Labour Government, even only with minority power in Parliament.

Thirdly, in the very important task of working out in detail the Socialist alternative to the present social order, the research work and enquiries of the I.L.P. differ essentially from those of the Labour Party, though, of course—as also in the case of literature—they often overlap. It is the special duty of the I.L.P. to develop in detail the Socialist objective of the Labour movement and to give much of its attention to this educational work. It must also supplement the general propaganda of day to day political warfare with the advocacy of fundamental Socialist principles. The I.L.P. has always stressed the fact that its programme was part of a clearly defined social philosophy, which actuated its members in every expression of their daily lives, as religions have often done in the past, though it is to be hoped in our case with greater tolerance and a more effective relation between precept and practice. It is not to be supposed by any means that even this is neglected in Labour Party propaganda, but as yet it plays a smaller part than in the meetings and publications of the I.L.P.

Lastly, there is the controversy as to how far Labour's success may have been sometimes retarded and its appeal made less effective by its too frequent belief that direct Socialist remedies are not yet immediate practical politics, irrespective of the state of public opinion. Here the duty of the I.L.P. is to be the chief instrument within the Labour Party loyally pushing Socialism to the fore, not merely as an ultimate objective, but as the most practical means here and now for curing the social ills which the Labour Party tries to remedy in less drastic fashion. The Labour Party gains from the fact that this, which is called left wing pressure, comes from a loyal body within its midst and sharing its democratic view of constitutional

development; it would suffer if this were left to bodies with a quite contrary outlook and lacking the spirit of loyal co-operation.

Moreover, there is one additional fact that cannot be overlooked—though it is chiefly concerned with the machinery of the two parties. Speed and alertness are more natural to a small body with a homogeneous doctrine than to a large organisation with much wider responsibilities and needing to use greater caution before taking public action. This was frequently felt during the time the Labour Party was associated with the government of the day, and at other times even when this was not the case.

That there will be overlapping and occasionally what almost appears to be friction, is almost inevitable; but once the greater advantages here suggested are genuinely admitted, and goodwill maintained, then these lesser disadvantages can easily be surmounted, and great gain accrue to the whole movement.

This, I think, is some part of the answer to the above question, so often propounded. It is, however, realised that the extent to which the Labour Party constitution is varied, and the manner in which its theory and practice develop to right or left must naturally lead to changes of one kind or another in the relationship of the two organisations, which now, as always, co-operate so loyally.

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I.L.P. GUILD OF YOUTH.

## THE I.L.P. DURING 1925.

By A. FENNER BROCKWAY

(General Secretary of the I.L.P.)

1924 was unique in the experience of the I.L.P. alike in the growth and extended activities of the Party, in the new problems it had to face arising from the formation of the first Labour Government, and in the strain involved in a third General Election within three years.

### THE GROWTH OF THE I.L.P.

The numerical growth of the Party can be indicated by a few striking facts. For the first time in the history of the I.L.P. we now have over 1,000 branches. The present upward wave commenced after our reorganisation scheme of two years ago and has continued progressively ever since. The following table shows the number of branches at the end of the last three financial years :—

February, 1923	...	...	...	637
February, 1924	...	...	...	772
February, 1925	...	...	...	1,028

The increase has been mainly in Scotland and the South of England. This is partly due to the fact that in the North of England the branches and membership are generally more stable; but not only to this. The I.L.P. missionary zeal of the Scottish M.P.s has had a big influence throughout the Scottish movement. The Scottish leaders have succeeded with skill and understanding in making the I.L.P. the political expression of the workers, and the growth of the whole Labour movement has naturally centred upon it. In the South an able young personnel has shown great energy and initiative in extending the I.L.P. in a largely undeveloped area. They have worked on new lines with zeal and enterprise.

**Number of Branches.**

The growth during the year in the nine Divisions which comprise the I.L.P. organisation is shown in the following table:—

		Feb., 1923	Feb., 1924	Feb., 1925.
Scotland	...	171	232	307
North-East	...	63	83	97
Yorkshire	...	73	84	98
Midlands	...	59	60	77
E. Anglia	...	12	12	19
London & South	...	80	107	166
South-West	...	25	28	42
Wales and Mon.	...	54	57	86
Lancashire	...	100	108	136
		—	—	—
		637	772	1,028

**Membership.**

There is no absolute test of membership, but the total strength of the Party is estimated to be approximately 50,000. The growth in membership, as revealed in affiliation fees is indicated in the following returns from the Divisions:—

		1922.	1923.	1924.
Scotland	...	£322	£526	£803
North-East	...	£148	£205	£224
Yorkshire	...	£354	£382	£468
Midlands	...	£252	£246	£340
E. Anglia	...	£52	£76	£89
London & South	...	£231	£354	£535
South-West	...	£56	£76	£115
Wales & Mon.	...	£151	£256	£271
Lancashire	...	£431	£466	£567
		—	—	—
Total	...	£1,997	£2,587	£3,414

The actual growth in membership is probably greater than these figures suggest, owing to the large number of exemptions from contributions due to the extensive unemployment. The increased membership during the year was certainly 10,000.

**THE ACTIVITIES OF THE I.L.P.**

The I.L.P. is the active propagandist wing of the Labour movement. Between 800 and 1,000 meetings are held under its auspices every week. In the summer, meetings are held on market squares, at street corners, and on village greens from one end of the country to the other. In the winter, meetings are held in I.L.P. halls, schoolrooms, town halls and theatres on week days and Sundays alike. It is impossible to estimate

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the educational value of this constant advocacy of Socialist principles and policy, but it can certainly be said that the progress of the Labour movement is to a great degree the result of the propaganda of the I.L.P.

During 1924 there were certain developments in I.L.P. activity which require special mention.

### **Agricultural Policy.**

The first noteworthy development has been the attention paid to agricultural policy and to the extension of Socialist propaganda and organisation in the rural areas. At the annual conference at Easter, 1924, the Party adopted a comprehensive agricultural policy which had been carefully prepared by a specially appointed commission. During the year a great deal was done to win public support for this policy. A number of conferences were held in the agricultural districts representing farmers, farm workers, and agricultural bodies. Thousands of copies of the I.L.P. Agricultural Report were sold and cheap, popular pamphlets were issued. The I.L.P. proposals attracted wide notice in the Press and were eagerly discussed.

The success of this campaign was reflected in the unanimous adoption of the I.L.P. resolution outlining our policy at the annual conference of the Labour Party. The I.L.P. proposals were thrust into the forefront of practical politics by the able statements made on behalf of the Party by E. F. Wise before the Royal Commission on Food Prices. Rarely has a new programme made such progress as the I.L.P. agricultural policy during the past year.

### **The "Backward Areas" Campaign.**

The new interest in agricultural questions was subsequently expressed in a fuller realisation of the necessity of winning the rural areas for Socialism. The results of the General Election showed conclusively that unless the county constituencies are captured there can be no hope of securing a clear Labour majority in Parliament. The I.L.P. therefore decided to turn its attention to rural propaganda and organisation. The new effort was begun with a three months' speaking campaign. All M.P.s and national speakers were asked to reserve their dates for the rural areas, and branches in the industrial strongholds were requested to release the services of such speakers

for this purpose. 38 constituencies were selected for special attention, and 21 Members of Parliament agreed to "adopt" particular constituencies. Over 150 meetings addressed by national speakers were arranged and special missionaries were engaged. The purpose of the campaign was to extend both political and industrial organisation. The speaking campaign was only a beginning. It is being followed up by sustained propaganda and organisation.

#### **Constructive Socialist Policy.**

Another important development of the I.L.P. during 1924 was the increased attention devoted to the elaboration of a constructive Socialist policy on key issues. The reports on land and agriculture were followed by reports on unemployment, the terms of transferring industry to the public, the national control of banking and credit, and the machinery of government. A Commission was also set up to prepare a report on the national control of electrical power, but its deliberations were interrupted by the General Election. The Divisional Councils of the Party are also beginning to devote their attention to the application of Socialist policy to the industries within their areas. The Lancashire Divisional Council is enquiring into the socialisation of the textile industry and the Scottish I.L.P. into the socialisation of shipbuilding. The working out of constructive Socialist policy is one of the most important contributions the I.L.P. is making to the Labour movement.

#### **Educational Developments.**

The third feature of the year's activities demanding special notice was the development of educational and cultural activities within the Party. The popularity of branch study circles, week-end schools and summer schools greatly increased. The valuable syllabuses of the I.L.P. Information Committee were widely read, and arrangements were made with Ruskin College for correspondence classes and the extension of study circle work. No fewer than 37 week-end schools were held, and the South-Western Divisional Council organised a week's school, in addition to the national school at Cloughton, to which some of the foremost authorities in varied phases of constructive Socialism lectured. Plans are now being made to co-ordinate and extend these educational activities. The I.L.P. is steadily becoming a University of Socialism within the Labour movement.

### **Socialism and Art.**

There has been an equally striking development in the dramatic and musical activities of the Party. Some of the I.L.P. dramatic societies—notably those attached to the Gateshead, Govan, and Hampstead branches—are making a wide reputation. Socialist choirs are becoming a familiar feature at I.L.P. meetings. Successful I.L.P. musical festivals were held in South Wales during the year, and a movement has been started to extend such gatherings within the Divisions with the object of ultimately establishing a national festival. The Strand Theatre meetings in London were, perhaps, the most noteworthy expression of the artistic development within the movement. Advantage was taken of Mr. and Mrs. Bourchier's generous offer of the theatre to express the creative beauty of Socialism as well as its political and economic message. The willing co-operation of some of the best known dramatists, actors and musicians was secured, and amateur artistic talent within the movement encouraged.

### **Socialist Industrial Policy.**

The attention given to the industrial aspect of Socialism was another development. The Constitution of the Party stresses the importance of industrial democracy equally with political democracy. The Scottish Divisional Council has called a special conference on the subject, whilst the Lancashire Divisional Council is paying particular attention to workers' control in its inquiry into the textile industry. The Industrial Committee of the London Divisional Council has been very active, organising week-end schools and calling conferences of I.L.P. members engaged in the various industries with a view to elaborating detailed policies of workers' control, and the Welsh Divisional Council has begun a special industrial campaign. A number of delegate conferences representing Trades Unions have also been held in different parts of the country. It is evident that the I.L.P. intends greatly to extend its work in this direction.

### **Municipal Socialism.**

During the year the I.L.P. strengthened its position on the local authorities. The number of Labour representatives on these bodies is now probably over 5,000, of whom about one-half are members of the I.L.P. At the County Council elections Labour majorities were secured in Durham, Glamorgan, and

Monmouth, and the Labour Parties on many Councils were greatly increased. In London the Labour representation advanced from 18 to 35. The I.L.P. holds that the capture of the local authorities is equally important for Socialism as the return of a majority to Parliament.

### I.L.P. Guild of Youth.

At the annual conference last Easter it was decided to inaugurate the I.L.P. Guild of Youth for Socialists under 21 years of age, and its progress has been remarkable. Over 112 Guilds were formed during the year, with a membership reaching nearly 5,000. The Guilds are associating Young Socialists for educational, social, athletic and artistic purposes in a remarkable variety of ways. The National Council of the Party has been so impressed by the growth and usefulness of this development that it is recommending that every branch form a Guild and that the organisation be recognised as the Youth Section of the I.L.P. It is proposed that the age-limit should be from 14 to 25, but that all members should also become members of the adult movement at 21.

### Women's Activities.

There was a welcome development in the political activities of the women members during the year. Women's groups were formed within 80 I.L.P. branches, not with a view to segregating the sexes, but as supplementary to the ordinary branch meetings. An annual I.L.P. Women's Day was inaugurated on Sunday, February 22nd, 1924. The demonstrations were preceded by Saturday conferences representing women's organisations at which the Socialist policy for dealing with the economic position of women was discussed. The I.L.P. was represented by 30 delegates at the national Labour women's conference, and succeeded in adding a Socialist addendum to the official resolution on world food supplies. Mrs. Glasier and Mrs. Lowe represented the I.L.P. on the Joint Standing Committee of Women's Industrial Organisations, and Mrs. Agnes Dollar was elected to the executive of the Labour Party on the nomination of the I.L.P. Mrs. Glasier and Miss Minnie Pallister were engaged as national propagandists on behalf of the Party.

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### **Socialist Literature.**

The primary purpose of the I.L.P. literature issued during the year was the re-statement of the elementary principles of Socialism—to a large degree overlooked since the war. Pamphlets were accompanied by shilling editions of Fred Henderson's "The Case for Socialism," and Bruce Glasier's "The Meaning of Socialism." The total circulation of I.L.P. pamphlets reached 260,000. It is now intended to follow up these more elementary publications by issuing a "New Socialist Library," edited by Clifford Allen, applying Socialist principles constructively to the great issues of the time.

### **The New Leader and Socialist Review.**

The weekly organ of the I.L.P. is the *New Leader*, edited by H. N. Brailsford. It seeks to combine a fighting Socialist policy with the statement of our constructive case, and good literary, scientific, and artistic features. It has a great reputation, both nationally and internationally, and has been described by Continental Socialists as "the best Socialist weekly in the world."

The I.L.P. also publishes the *Socialist Review* monthly, under the editorship of John Scurr, M.P. It successfully invites frank criticism, constructive and philosophic articles, and propaganda points.

Other weekly papers associated with the I.L.P. are *Forward* (edited by Tom Johnston, M.P.), the Birmingham *Town Crier*, and the Bradford *Pioneer*. In addition, the I.L.P. co-operates in the publication of numerous local Labour weeklies and monthlies.

### **The I.L.P. Information Committee.**

The I.L.P. has a well-organised "Intelligence Department" in its Information Committee, which pours out a stream of facts to speakers, writers, Members of Parliament, policy Commissions and Labour organisations of every kind. The Executive Committee represents equally the National Council of the Party and the subscribers, both organisations and individuals. This Year Book is an illustration of the work it is doing.

### **The International.**

The I.L.P. is directly affiliated to the Labour and Socialist International, and Clifford Allen, the chairman of the Party, is

one of its executive members. R. C. Wallhead, an ex-chairman of the I.L.P., is its treasurer, and Roden Buxton and H. N. Brailsford serve on its Administrative Committee.

Three political subjects dominated the attention of the International—Russia and Communist activity, the eight hour day, and disarmament and peace. The I.L.P. urged that every Socialist Party should use its influence to bring Russia back into the comity of nations, and pointed out how this event would assist all other efforts to lessen the dissensions between Socialists and Communists. The I.L.P. wholeheartedly co-operated in international activity to maintain and extend the eight hour day. On the question of disarmament and peace, the I.L.P., whilst suggesting the ratification of the Geneva Protocol, co-operated with its colleagues of the Labour Party in urging that a pre-essential is the inclusion of Russia and Germany in the League, or, failing the inclusion of Russia, the exclusion from the operation of the Protocol of disputes with non-signatory States. The revision of the Peace Treaties was also advocated.

## LABOUR GOVERNMENT AND PARTY POLICY

Twenty-six members of the I.L.P. held posts in the Labour Government. Six were in the Cabinet. As an integral part of the Labour Party, the I.L.P. sought to act loyally in support of the Labour Government, whilst pressing for a more vigorous Socialist policy in many directions. The I.L.P. looks back with pride on the work the Labour Government did, despite its minority position, to restore conditions of peace in Europe, to democratise and extend education, and to ameliorate social conditions in many respects. Nevertheless, the I.L.P. considered that greater advantage might have been taken of the authority of office to bring comprehensive Socialist measures before the public. At the last annual conference of the Party the chairman (Clifford Allen) suggested that the Government might appoint expert Commissions to elaborate Socialist policy in detail. It is of interest that the Swedish Socialist Government, under the Premiership of the late M. Branting, actually adopted this course. During the period of Labour in office the National Council approached Ministers on a number of occasions with friendly suggestions regarding policy, and the I.L.P. Parliamentary Group frequently raised issues through the Parlia-

tary Labour Party and its executive. The subjects dealt with in this manner included unemployment, evictions and rents, electrification, deportations, the imprisonment of Irish political offenders, Indian policy, Russia, and the Dawes Report.

### **Unemployment.**

The I.L.P. took energetic action to press a wider and more effective unemployment policy upon the Government. A special committee was appointed to propose schemes of constructive work, and forty-one emergency conferences, representative of Trade Union and other Labour bodies, were held on June 21st to arouse public opinion in favour of its proposals. At the Labour Party conference prior to the election a resolution proposed by the I.L.P. was adopted, drawing attention to the effect of the control of credit on unemployment and advocating the nationalisation of the Bank of England.

### **Rents and Evictions.**

The I.L.P. urged that the Rent Restriction Act should be amended with a view to its extension until 1930, or thereafter if the supply of houses remained short of the demand. The reduction of rents to the pre-war level was also advocated as a means of dealing with the eviction crises which arose in areas suffering from low wages and unemployment. The branches were specially asked to conduct a campaign in favour of these proposals.

### **Food Prices.**

The I.L.P. maintained a vigilant attitude on food prices. On the Conservative Government appointing a Royal Commission, it publicly declared that, in its view, the rise in prices is due to the manipulation and speculation in food supplies, and that the effective remedy is the State purchase of food and grain imports through a National Board of Supplies. I.L.P. branches aroused much opinion in favour of this measure. Regret was expressed as to the inadequate number of women appointed on the Commission to represent the views of the housewives.

### **The Dawes Report.**

The I.L.P., whilst appreciating the need for an immediate settlement of the reparations question as a condition of European recovery, re-affirmed its opposition to the acceptance of

reparations. During the proceedings of the London Conference it submitted a resolution to the Prime Minister reiterating this opposition, and suggesting (a) that Great Britain should reserve the right to renounce its share in reparations on condition that the amount was deducted from the total demanded from Germany, and (b) that the application of the Dawes Report should be dependent upon the complete economic and military evacuation of the Ruhr.

**India.**

Ever since the days of Keir Hardie the I.L.P. has taken a specially keen interest in the struggle of the Indian workers for political and economic freedom. The National Council of the Party urged that representatives of the different Indian parties should be invited to prepare a scheme of self-government for immediate application, and succeeded in securing the acceptance of this policy by the Labour Party conference prior to the election.

**Egypt.**

The I.L.P. urged that the issue of the control of the Sudan and the Suez Canal should be submitted to the League of Nations, with a view to developing that country as a self-governing nation, and that an Anglo-Egyptian conference should be held to complete the evacuation of Egypt.

**Relations with Russia.**

The I.L.P. did all in its power to establish good relations between this country and Russia. Assistance was given during the negotiations regarding the Russian Treaties, and a vigorous campaign initiated in favour of their ratification. Correspondence from the Soviet Embassy outlining the use to which the Russian Government would put the proposed loan, was published during the election with good effect.

Following the General Election, the I.L.P. National Council adopted a resolution urging that the authenticity and circumstances of the publication of the Zinoviev letter should be impartially inquired into. Welcome was at the same time given to the suggestion that the points in dispute should be submitted to arbitration by an international tribunal.

## THE GENERAL ELECTION AND AFTER

The I.L.P. was financially responsible for 87 candidates at the General Election. Of these 27 were returned. The I.L.P. candidates suffered heavily in the election, partly owing to the fact that the "pact" operated against them in a particularly large number of cases, and partly because a large proportion of our new candidatures were of a pioneer character. At the Dundee by-election, caused by the regrettable death of E. D. Morel, the I.L.P. nominated Tom Johnston, who was returned by a majority of 12,739.

### **The I.L.P. Parliamentary Group.**

Of the 193 Labour members in the last Parliament, 132 were members of the I.L.P. In the present Parliament there are 106 members of the I.L.P. among the 151 Labour members. All I.L.P. members are invited to attend the weekly meetings of the I.L.P. Group. In both Parliaments John Scurr, M.P., was appointed as chairman. Ernest Hunter acted as secretary in the last Parliament; on his retirement in December the General Secretary of the Party succeeded him. At the beginning of the new Parliament the I.L.P. Parliamentary Group urged that the following amendment should be tabled to the Address:—

but humbly regrets that your Majesty's Government, possessed of an absolute majority of this House, has failed to realise the fundamental cause of the unmerited poverty and grievous unemployment now suffered by the greater number of Your people, which can only be remedied by the entire re-organisation of our social system, through the public ownership and democratic control of the means of distribution and production, and by the scientific use of the nation's resources for the public interest, in place of the present wasteful pursuit of private gain, by which proposals alone can the nation's industrial prosperity be assured and Your people freed from the urgent distresses by which they have always been affected.

The Group has sought to press a bold and constructive Socialist policy upon the Labour Party in many directions.

## THE I.L.P. PURPOSE

This record is bare, but it will indicate the immense activity of the I.L.P. and the constructive Socialist contribution which it is seeking to make to the Labour movement, and the wide educational propaganda it is carrying on.

## THE LABOUR PARTY

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE 1924-25.

*Chairman* : C. T. CRAMP, (N.U.R.).

*Vice-Chairman* : ROBERT WILLIAMS, (Marine Workers).

*Treasurer* : Rt. Hon. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P. (I.L.P.).

### NATIONAL SOCIETIES' SECTION :

A. G. Cameron (Woodworkers); Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, M.P. (General Workers); A. J. Cook (Miners); Tom Griffiths, M.P. (Iron and Steel Trades); Stanley Hirst (Transport Workers); W. H. Hutchinson (A.E.U.); Rt. Hon. F. W. Jowett (I.L.P.); Rt. Hon. F. O. Roberts, M.P. (Typographical Association); P. J. Tevenan (Municipal Workers); F. B. Varley, M.P. (Miners); Rt. Hon. Sidney Webb, M.P. (Fabian Society).

### LOCAL CONSTITUENCY ORGANISATIONS' SECTION :

R. J. Davies, M.P.; George Lansbury, M.P.; Will Lawther, Col. Rt. Hon. J. C. Wedgwood, M.P.; Herbert Morrison, L.C.C.

### WOMEN MEMBERS :

Mrs. F. Harrison Bell, Dr. Ethel Bentham, Miss M. Carlin, Mrs. A. Dollar.

*Secretary* : Rt. Hon. ARTHUR HENDERSON.

*Assistant Secretary* : J. S. MIDDLETON.

*National Agent* : EGERTON P. WAKE.

*Assistant National Agent* : G. R. SHEPHERD.

*Chief Woman Officer* : Dr. MARION PHILLIPS.

*Headquarters* : 33, Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1.

*Telegrams* : "Labrecom, Churton, London."

*Telephone* : Victoria, 8016-7-8-9.

## SOCIALIST ANNUAL, 1925

The Labour Party was founded in 1900 as a Federation of Trade Unions and Socialist Societies. It was at first known as the Labour Representation Committee. In 1906 it achieved its first important success by winning 29 seats in the election of that year. Its name was then changed to its present form. In 1918 the constitution of the Party was amended so as to allow individuals, organised in local Labour parties to become members.

The record of the Party in 1924 will be found running through the various sections of this book and the following facts and figures must therefore only be regarded as the barest outline of the Labour Party's many activities. The work of the organisation of the Party is described in much greater detail in *The Labour Year Book, 1925*. (Paper 3/6, cloth 5/-.)

The following table illustrates the growth of the Party since its inception.

### LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCES.

Year.	Place of Conference.	No. of Delegates.	Membership.	Income of General Fund, £
1900	London	129	568,177	—
1905	Liverpool	348	900,000	1,305
1910	Newport	448	1,486,308	3,053
1918	London	852	2,726,000	—
1919	Southport	954	3,013,129	25,537*
1920	Scarborough	1,109	3,511,290	37,866
1921	Brighton	872	4,359,807	54,523
1922	Edinburgh	820	4,010,361	61,178
1923	London	939	3,311,036	51,721
1924	London	1,059	3,155,911	57,159

\* Excluding £14,920 Investments realised.

The Labour Party is at present the second largest party in the House of Commons, having 152 members, and the Official Opposition. Its electoral progress is illustrated by the following table :—

### LABOUR'S ELECTORAL PROGRESS.

General Election.	Seats Contested.	Members Returned.	Labour-Vote.
1900	15	2	62,668
1906	50	29	323,195
1910 (January)	78	40	505,600
1910 (December)	56	42	370,802
1918	361	57	2,244,945
1922	414	142	4,236,733
1923	427	191	4,348,379
1924	514	151	5,551,549

GENERAL ORGANISATION.

For the purposes of organisation the country is divided into nine districts, each of which has a district organiser and a women's organiser. These are as follow:—

DISTRICT A. (North-Eastern) :

Coun. E. J. Gibbin, J.P., 126, Sidney Grove, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Mrs. Anderson Fenn, 19, Bank Terrace, All Hallows Lane, Kendal, Westmorland.

DISTRICT B. (North-Western) :

Mr. J. H. Standring, 12, Woodlands Road, Edenfield, Near Manchester.

Mrs. M. Anderson, 4, Edgewell Villas, Church Road, Flixton, Manchester.

DISTRICT C. (Midlands) :

Mr. H. Drinkwater, Ladywood, Fernhill Heath, Near Worcester.

Mrs. Fawcett, 102, Morley Road, Washwood Heath, Birmingham.

DISTRICT D. (Southern and Home Counties) :

Mr. H. Croft, 21, Clarence Road, Croydon.

Miss G. Tavener, 43, Jessel House, Judd Street, W.C.1.

DISTRICT E. (London) :

Mr. R. T. Windle, 221, Hale End Road, Woodford Green, Essex.

Miss A. Somers, 12, Tavistock Place, Russell Square, W.C.1.

DISTRICT F. (South-Western) :

Mr. C. C. Jones, The Cot, Newbold-in-Stour, Stratford-on-Avon.

Mrs. A. Townley, 4, Station Road, Ashley Hill, Bristol.

DISTRICT G. (Eastern) :

Mr. W. Holmes, 15, Somerset Road, Tottenham, N.17.

Miss Francis, 20, Jenner House, Hunter Street, W.C.1.

DISTRICT H. (Wales) :

Mr. T. C. Morris, 51, Charles Street, Cardiff.

Mrs. E. Andrews, 73, Bailey Street, Ton Pentre, Rhondda.

DISTRICT J. (Scotland) :

Mr. Ben Shaw, J.P., 108, West Regent Street, Glasgow.

Miss J. Sutherland, 108, West Regent Street, Glasgow.

## TRADES UNION CONGRESS

GENERAL COUNCIL 1924-25.

*Chairman* : Mr. A. B. SWALES (Amalgamated Engineering Union).

*Vice-Chairman* : Mr. A. A. PURCELL (N.A. Furnishing Trades Association).

Mr. J. Beard (The Workers' Union).

Mr. H. Boothman, J.P. (The Amalgamated Association of Operative Cotton Spinners).

Mr. J. W. Bowen (Union of Post Office Workers).

Mr. J. Bromley, M.P. (Association Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen).

Mr. A. Conley (Tailors' and Garment Workers' Trade Union).

Mr. J. Cotter (Amalgamated Marine Workers' Union).

Mr. J. Davenport (United Order of General Labourers).

Mr. A. A. H. Findlay (United Patternmakers' Association).

Mr. A. Hayday, M.P. (National Union General and Municipal Workers).

Mr. G. Hicks (Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers).

Mr. J. Hill, J.P. (Boilermakers' and Iron and Steel Ship-builders).

Mr. R. T. Jones (North Wales Quarrymen's Union).

Mr. W. Kean (National Union of Gold, Silver and Allied Trades).

Mr. J. Marchbank (National Union of Railwaymen).

Mr. J. W. Ogden, J.P. (Amalgamated Weavers' Association).

Mr. E. L. Poulton, J.P. (National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives).

Mr. A. Pugh (Iron and Steel Trades Confederation).

Miss M. Quaile (Transport and General Workers' Union).

Mr. J. Rowan, J.P. (Electrical Trades Union).

Mr. H. Skinner (Typographical Association).

Mr. R. Smillie, M.P. (Miners' Federation of Great Britain).

# SOCIALIST ANNUAL, 1925

Mr. H. Smith, J.P., (Miners' Federation of Great Britain).  
 Mr. W. Thorne, M.P. (National Union of General and Municipal Workers).

Mr. B. Tillett (Transport and General Workers' Union).  
 Mr. B. Turner, J.P. (National Union of Textile Workers).  
 Mr. J. Turner (National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks).

Miss J. Varley (The Workers' Union).

Mr. A. G. Walkden, J.P. (Railway Clerks' Association).

Mr. R. B. Walker (National Union of Agricultural Workers).

Mr. J. B. Williams (The Musicians' Union).

*Secretary* : Mr. FRED BRAMLEY.

*Assistant Secretary* : Mr. W. M. CITRINE.

*Address* :—32 ECCLESTON SQUARE, LONDON, S.W.1.

*Tel. No.* : Victoria 6410.

*Telegrams* : Tradunic, Churton, London.

In 1924 the Trade Unions celebrated the hundredth anniversary of the Repeal of the Combination Acts, the first step towards the granting of the legal status which Trade Unions enjoy to-day.

The first Trade Union Congress was held in 1868. The following table shows the growth of the movement since:—

## TRADE UNIONS.

### MEMBERSHIP OF TRADE UNIONS AFFILIATED TO THE TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

Year.	No. of Unions.	Total Membership.	Year.	No. of Unions.	Total Membership.
1868	—	118,367	1915*	215	2,682,357
1878	114	623,957	1916	227	2,850,547
1888	138	816,944	1917	235	3,082,352
1898	188	1,184,241	1918	262	4,532,085
1908	214	1,777,000	1919	266	5,283,676
1909	219	1,705,000	1920	215	6,505,482
1910	212	1,647,715	1921	213	6,417,910
1911	202	1,662,133	1922	206	5,128,648
1912	201	2,001,633	1923	195	4,369,268
1913	207	2,232,446	1924	203	4,328,235

\* There was no Congress in 1914.

The activities of the General Council are very varied. They include the promotion of industrial legislation in association with the Labour Party; arbitration in dispute between affiliated Unions; mediation in trade disputes; the promotion of amalgamations of Unions; the carrying on of propaganda on behalf of Trade Unionism in general. It is also concerned with adult education, and through its Educational Committee renders assistance to Ruskin College, the Central Labour College, and the Workers' Educational Association.

Trade Board matters are dealt with by a Trade Board Advisory Committee (Secretary, J. J. Mallon) appointed partly by the General Council and partly by the Unions concerned with Trade Boards.

Internationally the Trade Union Congress is a member of the International Federation of Trade Unions. The Third Congress of this body was held at Vienna on June 6th, 1924. The British Unions were represented by 10 delegates. The following British members were elected to the International Federation Executive for 1924-25:—

Mr. A. A. Purcell, Chairman of Bureau.

Mr. F. Bramley, Member of Management Committee.

Mr. G. Hicks, Substitute on Management Committee.

Mr. J. W. Bowen, Member of Commission of Auditors.

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## JOINT ACTIVITIES OF THE T.U.C. AND THE LABOUR PARTY

### I. JOINT NATIONAL COUNCIL.

*Chairman : A. B. SWALES.*

*Secretary : Rt. Hon. A. HENDERSON, M.P.*

The Council was formed in 1921 to co-ordinate the activities, political and industrial, of the whole movement. It consists of the Chairman, Secretary and three members each of the General Council of the T.U.C., the Executive of the Labour Party, and the Parliamentary Labour Party. Its principal functions, as laid down at the Labour Party Conference and the T.U.C. in 1921, are:—

"To consider all questions affecting the Labour Movement as a whole and make provision for taking immediate and united action on all questions of national emergency."

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"To endeavour to secure a common policy and joint action, whether by legislation or otherwise on all questions affecting the workers as producers, consumers and citizens."

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### 2. THE JOINT RESEARCH DEPARTMENT.

*Secretary : ARTHUR GREENWOOD, M.P.*

The activities followed by this department include :—

Economic and Political research.

Collection of information on matters of interest to the Labour Movement.

Maintenance of a library of newspaper cuttings, books and official documents.

Supply of information to Trade Unions and Labour Parties.

Organisation of Advisory Committees.

During 1924 the department re-issued a thoroughly revised edition of the Local Government Handbook. It has also been concerned with the preparation of material for the Joint Committees of Inquiry into Production, which has produced a valuable book on Waste in Capitalism. Other important pieces of work accomplished during the year were reports on Land and Agriculture; a statement on the Financial Position of the Railway Companies for the A.S.L.E. & F.; a report on the Dawes Plan for the Women's Section of the Labour Party. Work in hand included an inquiry into Trade Union Organisation, and a report on Banking.

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### 3. THE JOINT PRESS AND PUBLICITY DEPARTMENT.

*Secretary : W. W. HENDERSON.*

Activities :—

Publicity and the supply of information to Newspapers.

Preparation and publication of leaflets, pamphlets, posters, etc.

Issue of the Labour Press Service, the Labour Magazine (Monthly), The Labour Woman (Monthly). Six Local Labour Weeklies, and four Monthlies, now being published, are based on the Press Service.

Numerous pamphlets were published during 1924, including the "Can Labour Rule" series, describing the Labour Government's achievements in Office.

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### 4. INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT.

*Secretary : WILLIAM GILLIES.*

This provides a publicity and information service with regard to all international Labour activities.

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### 5. LEGAL DEPARTMENT.

The purpose of this department is to prepare bills, to examine and report on bills presented to Parliament; to supply legal assistance, information and advice to the Parliamentary Party, and to organisations affiliated to the T.U.C. and the Labour Party, and to watch all legal decisions effecting Labour interests.

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### 6. STANDING JOINT COMMITTEE OF INDUSTRIAL WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS.

Founded in 1916, this committee consists of representatives of industrial, co-operative, and political organisations, and has a total affiliated membership of over a million organised working women.

The objects of the committee are :—

“To forward the interests of working women and to assist in securing their representation on any local, national or international committees or similar bodies established by Government or other authorities to deal with matters in which women have a special interest.

“To set forth a policy for working women on such Committees, and to keep them informed on matters important to them in their work.

“To conduct joint campaigns by means of publication in the Press, meetings, deputations, and other methods on any subject of national importance on which combined action by working women may be beneficial.

“To act as an advisory committee on women's questions to the Executive Committee of the Labour Party.”

Subjects dealt with during 1924 include Women in the Civil Service; Maternity Problems and Birth Control, and Widows' Pensions. Action was taken with regard to the Equal Suffrage Bill, Guardianship of Infants Bill, Factories Bill and other measures relating to women.

# THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

1924 was the eightieth anniversary of the Rochdale Pioneers, the first retail Co-operative Society on modern lines in this country, and the sixtieth anniversary of the Co-operative Wholesale Society. Other important dates in the history of British Co-operation are as follow:—

- 1868. Foundation of Scottish Wholesale Society.
- 1869. Foundation of Co-operative Union.
- 1895. Foundation of International Co-operative Alliance.
- 1924. Foundation of International Wholesale Society.

## I. THE RETAIL SOCIETIES.

The comparative figures for the period 1913-1923 are given in the following table:—

Year.	No. of Societies.	Total Membership.	Share & Loan Capital. £	Sales. £	Net Surplus.
					£
1913	1,387	2,878,648	42,601,765	83,590,374	12,851,303
1914	1,390	3,054,297	46,317,939	87,964,229	13,501,825
1915	1,375	3,264,811	48,848,596	102,557,779	14,960,086
1916	1,362	3,520,227	53,322,352	121,688,550	16,335,079
1917	1,366	3,788,490	55,746,493	142,003,612	15,916,591
1918	1,364	3,846,531	61,394,708	155,157,963	16,495,645
1919	1,357	4,131,477*	74,411,306	198,930,437	20,390,833
1920	1,379	4,504,852	86,553,168	254,158,144	25,458,555
1921	1,352	4,548,557	85,667,448	218,780,384	17,831,464
1922	1,321	4,519,162	84,891,998	169,582,357	14,060,291
1923	1,314	4,569,256	87,923,097	165,490,038	15,916,246*

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\* Total profits of Societies showing a profit; some Societies showed a loss, the total being £57,810.

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In addition to the share and loan capital of £87,923,097, the societies had in 1923 reserve funds aggregating £5,047,736. The share and loan capital consisted of £75,361,543 share, and £12,561,554 loan capital, the former representing an *increase* of £2,289,945 and the latter an *increase* of £741,154 during the year. The reserve fund denotes an *increase* of £105,162.

The total stock in trade figured at £18,763,229, the value of the land, buildings, machinery, and fixed stock was estimated at £26,540,859, whilst the total investments amounted to £54,027,977. The collective amount spent on educational purposes during the year figured at £129,994, or about 1 per cent. of the net surplus.

## 2. THE CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY.

Headquarters : Balloon Street, Manchester.

The comparative figures from 1913-1923 are given in the following table :—

Year.	Society Members.	Share & Loan Capital. £	Wholesale Dis- tributive Trade. £	Net Surplus.* £
1913	... 1,168	6,320,763	31,371,976	734,583
1914	... 1,193	6,301,017	34,910,813	944,936
1915	... 1,195	6,641,598	43,101,747	1,197,105
1916	... 1,189	7,109,291	52,230,074	1,794,664
1917	... 1,192	6,937,325	57,710,133	1,315,155
1918	... 1,200	11,866,941	65,167,960	160,538
1919	... 1,209	15,772,555	89,349,318	248,168
1920	... 1,222	18,530,596	105,439,628	502,962
1921	... 1,205	23,287,747	81,941,682	§
1922	... 1,195	25,507,090	65,904,812	420,063
1923	... 1,192	28,478,593	66,205,566	810,747

\* Including share interest. § Loss of £4,569,590.

## 3. THE SCOTTISH WHOLESALE SOCIETY.

The salient figures from 1913 to 1923 are given in the following table :—

Year.	Society Members.	Share & Loan Capital. £	Wholesale Dis- tributive Trade. £	Net Surplus. £
1913	... 268	3,696,415	8,964,033	340,730
1914	... 266	4,130,170	9,425,383	393,115
1915	... 264	4,494,633	11,363,075	458,516
1916	... 262	4,564,637	14,502,410	501,531
1917	... 263	4,257,818	17,079,842	500,915
1918	... 261	4,546,296	19,519,485	547,993
1919	... 266	5,518,210	24,789,040	536,662
1920	... 272	5,795,895	29,549,314	271,514
1921	... 273	5,694,379	22,041,158	*
1922	... 270	6,151,587	17,009,251	316,805
1923	... 271	6,622,300	17,261,828	333,005

\* Loss of £293,497.

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In 1923 the share capital of the Society amounted to £1,419,606, and the loan capital to £5,202,694, whilst the reserve fund amounted to £1,185,116. The value of the stock-in-trade figured at £2,041,132, the value of land, buildings, machinery and fixed stock at £1,223,495, and investments at £4,482,384.

PRODUCTION. The output of S.C.W.S. productions in 1923 amounted in value to £5,158,214 as compared with £5,391,502 in 1922, £7,023,453 in 1921, £9,436,727 in 1920, and £7,823,535 in 1919.

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### THE CO-OPERATIVE PARTY.

*Secretary : S. F. PERRY,*

*Address : 123, Pall Mall, London, S.W.1.*

*Telephone : Gerrard 677.*

The Co-operative Party exists to forward the interests of co-operation in Parliament. It works in close association with the Labour Party and the co-operative members receive the Labour Party whips. One of them, Mr. A. V. Alexander, was appointed Secretary to the Board of Trade in the Labour Government. The Party fought 10 seats in the 1924 General Election. Four of the six previously held were retained and one new one gained, giving a total of five. The Co-operative members are :—

A. Barnes (East Ham, South); R. C. Morrison (Tottenham, North); A. V. Alexander (Sheffield, Hillsborough); T. Henderson (Glasgow, Tradeston); W. Hirst (Bradford, South).

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### SOME CO-OPERATIVE ADDRESSES.

The Co-operative Union, Ltd.—Holyoake House, Hanover Street, Manchester.

Co-operative Wholesale Society, Ltd.—1 Balloon Street, Manchester.

Co-operative Insurance Society, Ltd.—109 Corporation Street, Manchester.

Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society, Ltd.—95 Morrison Street, Glasgow.

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Irish Agricultural Wholesale Society, Ltd.—151 Thomas Street, Dublin.

The Co-operative Productive Federation.—Alliance Chambers, Horsefair Street, Leicester.

Women's Co-operative Guild.—29 Winchester Road, London, N.W.3.

Men's Co-operative Guild.—Co-operative Union, Holyoake House, Hanover Street, Manchester.

International Co-operative Alliance.—4 Great Smith Street, London, S.W.1.

National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers (N.U.D.A.W.).—Oakley, 122 Wilmslow Road, Fallowfield, Manchester.

Agricultural Organization Society, Ltd. — 40 Broadway, Westminster, S.W.1.

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### NEWSPAPERS (Weekly).

*Co-operative News.*—22 Long Millgate, Manchester.

*Scottish Co-operator.*—71 King Street, Tradeston, Glasgow.

*Irish Statesman* (Incorp. *Irish Homestead*).—Plunkett House, 84 Merrion Square, Dublin.

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*Further particulars concerning the widespread activities of the Co-operative Movement will be found in "The People's Year Book," 1925, an Annual of Facts and Figures on Co-operative, Labour and other subjects, published by the C.W.S., 3/- net.*

# THE LABOUR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

Owned and controlled by Labour organisations  
and members of the Labour movement.

## THE LABOUR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT *exists*

To form a library of Trade Union documents, Government publications, company records, and all other matter bearing on the interests of Labour.

To answer questions on wages and prices, profits and position of companies, local government, legal points, etc., etc.

To prepare arbitration, etc., cases for Unions, Trades Councils, and other bodies.

To publish journals, pamphlets, and books of information on subjects of importance to Labour.

## THE MONTHLY CIRCULAR

(supplied to members and affiliated societies) is the only Labour journal entirely devoted to the supply of facts for speakers and writers.

Other publications include—

*The Sixpenny Syllabus Series.*

Text-books in miniature, written by acknowledged experts for the use of students and classes.

*Labour White Papers.*

Pennyworths of information upon such subjects as Food Profits, the War Debt, the real wages of Labour, etc.

*Studies in Labour and Capital*

In different industries. ONE SHILLING each.

Membership open to all recognised Labour organisations and their members. Write for full information and sample literature to

**THE SECRETARY, Labour Research Dept.,  
162 BUCKINGHAM PALACE RD., LONDON, S.W.1**

## ADULT EDUCATION

THE importance attached by Socialists to Education is generally realised, but one aspect of educational progress is especially stressed by modern Socialists, namely Adult Education. It is becoming increasingly evident that democracy has no real significance as a form of Government apart from the achievement of a high level of intelligence among its members. The tragedy of modern politics, which is borne in upon the experienced political propagandist only too well, is that catch-words and press stunts are efficacious because so few people are capable of pronouncing judgments upon leading political problems. The fundamental problem for Socialists, is therefore, not merely to achieve an economic revolution but, above all, to provide as speedily as possible, for the mass of the people, access to knowledge of the great scientific truths about life and affairs.

Socialism has a scientific justification; the revolution which it seeks to accomplish will not be achieved until the minds of men and women, equipped with the fullest possible information, are persuaded of the wisdom and rightness of its principles.

The following list contains particulars of the various agencies which are within the field of Adult Education. Fuller and more detailed information can be obtained on application to the various secretaries whose names and addresses are supplied.

### **The Workers' Educational Association.**

*General Secretary : J. M. MACTAVISH.*

16, HARPUR STREET, THEOBALDS ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

Tel. No. : Museum 5750.      Telegrams : "Edulabasso."

'Phone, London.

The Workers' Educational Association affords to groups of students the opportunity of obtaining "university" facilities. It links up the workers' organisations with the Universities in the administration of University Joint Committees, and provides various systematic courses of study. There is the University Tutorial Class, which continues its work for three consecutive years, on some subject, over a period of 24 weeks each year; and there are shorter "one-year" or terminal courses. In conjunction with the Universities, the Board of Education and local education authorities, by means of grants, all tutors' fees are paid and qualified tutors provided, who, however, are chosen by the classes themselves. Many I.L.P. branches have inaugurated one of these classes with profitable results.

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Summer schools, and week-end schools are also arranged. The W.E.A. emphasises the principle of workers' control in adult education. Facilities are also provided for specially recommended and suitable students to enter a residential college for a year or so, for example at Ruskin College.

The General Council of the T.U.C., Working Men's Club and Institute Union, Educational Department of the Co-operative Union have representation in the Central Governing body.

Much use has been made of the W.E.A. facilities by the Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee (Secretary, J. M. McTavish, 16, Harpur Street, London, W.C.1), which was formed to promote educational work among Trade Unionists. One of the greatest problems of the future is equipping the body of Trade Union opinion with the knowledge that is essential for the conquest of power in industry.

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### **The Central Joint Advisory Committee on Tutorial Classes.**

*Hon. Secretary: R. H. TAWNEY. Secretary: T. W. PRICE,  
16, HARPUR STREET, LONDON, W.C.1.*

This body is maintained financially by contributions from Universities and Colleges. It deals with the supply of Tutorial Classes in response to demands from the W.E.A.

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### **Ruskin College, Oxford.**

*Principal: H. SANDERSON FURNESS, M.A.. Sec.: F. SMITH.*

Ruskin College is the oldest residential Labour College. It was founded in 1899 as a college for the education of working men and women. Its aim is to equip working-class students for service in the Labour Movement. The college year is divided into three terms of eleven weeks, and most students are in residence for at least a year. The college is governed entirely by working-class organisations—including representatives of the Trades Union General Council, the Co-operative Union, the Working Men's Club and Institute Union, and various Trade Unions.

The scope of the education provided is largely confined to economic and political subjects of immediate importance to the Labour and Socialist movement, but other subjects, such as History, Literature and Psychology, are not neglected. In addition to lectures in these subjects, discussion classes are held for four or five students together, and each student receives private tuition weekly.

Ruskin College has just made a special arrangement with the I.L.P. Information Committee, whereby an I.L.P. Section has been set up to deal by correspondence with the needs and difficulties of Study Groups and Classes.

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### **The National Council of Labour Colleges.**

*General Secretary's Office:  
1—11 PENYWERN ROAD, LONDON, S.W.5.*

The National Council represents the Central Labour College, London, the Scottish Labour College, the Plebs League, some Trade Unions and various provincial centres of such working-class educational propaganda.

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Facilities are offered in many subjects to enable the students to take a fuller share in the fight against Capitalism.

The education is of a purely working-class character. The Council works through its constituent bodies, and such subjects as Economy, Economic Geography, Imperialism, Psychology and Industrial History, and Trade Union Law are catered for. Funds are supplied by various Trade Unions and Workers' Organisations.

### The Labour College.

*Principal* : W. W. CRAIK.

*Secretary to Board of Governors* :

W. T. A. FOOT, 119, HARVEST ROAD, LONDON, N.W.

The College aims at training Trade Unionists in Social Science for service in the Labour Movement. The Board of Governors embodies representatives of bodies eligible for affiliation to the Labour Party, establishing scholarships at the College. The N.U.R. and S. Wales Miners exercise the main influence at the moment. The College is residential, but it gives correspondence tuition.

### Scottish Labour College.

*Secretary* : J. P. M. MILLER, 25, ELM ROW, EDINBURGH.

This links up educational committees which run classes in various parts of Scotland. District Committees exist in many counties. Some full-time tutors are employed, and vigorous independent working-class education is provided.

### Plebs League.

*Secretary* :

MRS. HORRABIN, 162A BUCKINGHAM PALACE ROAD, LONDON, S.W.

This works in close conjunction with the Labour College. It conducts vigorous propaganda in the interests of independent working-class education, and forms local classes.

### Educational Settlements' Association.

*Secretary* :

BASIL YEATLEE, 30 BLOOMSBURY STREET, LONDON, W.C.

This is a federation of 15 Educational Settlements and three Colleges for adults. Among the Settlements are Beechcroft, Birkenhead; Bensham, Gateshead-on-Tyne; John Woolman, London; Folk House, Bristol. The Colleges are Fircroft, Birmingham (for which the late Tom Bryan did so much), Woodbrooke, Selly Oak, Birmingham; Working Women's College, Beckenham. A new residential college, similar to Fircroft, is being inaugurated in Worcestershire. This will specialise on agricultural problems and it is to be modelled according to the Danish High School plan. Each Settlement is in charge of a warden. Its aim is to provide a real Community Centre; Tutorial Classes, University Extension Courses, Adult Schools, Labour College Classes are promoted. Physical Culture, Arts and Crafts, Dramatic Work, and Music are included in the wide educational programme usually undertaken. There is co-operation with local education authorities in many cases.

At present there is a special staff lecturer dealing with International affairs.\*

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### Co-operative Union Committee.

*Secretary to the Central Education Committee:*

C. E. WOOD, HOLYOAKE HOUSE, HANOVER STREET, MANCHESTER.

A great amount of educational work is undertaken by Co-operative Societies. Residential and evening classes are run at Holyoake House, and most local societies have Education Committees and are responsible for classes. Valuable work is done for women. Summer Schools are arranged at home and abroad. It is hoped that travelling and residential tutors will be appointed. Scholarships to Holyoake House are provided. Co-operation with the W.E.A. is found most valuable.

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### Working Men's Club and Institute Union Committee.

*Secretary to the Educational Department:*

A. TEMPLE, CLUB UNION BUILDINGS, CLERKENWELL ROAD, E.C.

This Union has done a good deal to promote adult education in various ways. It provides scholarships to Ruskin College. It has a summer school, made possible by bursaries from Union funds. The Union works in harmony with the W.E.A.

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### Fabian Society.

22 TOHILL STREET, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.

Book-boxes for classes and organisations can be supplied by arrangement with the Secretary at this address.

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### Central Library for Students.

9 GALEN PLACE, BURY STREET, LONDON, W.C.

Application should be made to this address for books, which cannot be obtained through local libraries.

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### The I.L.P. Information Committee.

14 GREAT GEORGE STREET, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.1. does a considerable amount of work in stimulating the formation of Study Circles and Groups within the I.L.P. It has recently published an attractive handbook on the Study Groups, providing useful information as to how they should be organised and conducted. It also publishes Study Circle Syllabuses and has the following in stock at present:—"Socialism and Finance" (F. W. Pethick Lawrence), "Socialism and Mining" (Emrys Hughes), "Socialism and Railways" (F. E. Lawley), "The Story of the I.L.P." (J. Ramsay MacDonald), "Foreign Affairs and the People" (E. D. Morel and H. B. Lees-Smith, M.P.), "Economic History" (C. R. Attlee, M.P.), "Socialism for Women" (Minnie Pallister).

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### Labour Research Department.

162 BUCKINGHAM PALACE ROAD, LONDON, S.W.

a further account of whose work appears elsewhere also publishes a number of valuable educational syllabuses for Study Circle work.

## THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT

**1924** saw the formation of the first Labour Government in the history of Great Britain. For nine months Labour carried on the Government under Parliamentary conditions that few previous administrations had to submit to, and for that period of time political interest in the country was greater than it had ever been since the passing of the Parliament Act. The experiment of a Labour Government had been described as a "great adventure"; it has been of benefit not only to the Labour Movement, but has contributed greatly to the political education of the country.

In the General Election of 1922 Labour had won the position as "His Majesty's Opposition" in Parliament. This, however, did not secure for it the attention from the Press that previous oppositions had enjoyed. Speeches by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and other leaders were badly reported if reported at all. On the other hand every device was employed by the greater part of the daily press to sound the note of fear and disaster. "We are confronted with a peril not less grave than that which was presented to us nine years ago. For the reign of Socialism would mean our ruin" wrote a leading London journal (*Daily Telegraph* 19/7/23) during this period. This was the tune to which the anti-Socialist press played; it reached its crescendo in the 1923 General Election. Actually 257 Conservatives, 192 Labour, 158 Liberals, 5 Independents, and 3 Nationalists and Sinn Feiners were returned. Mr. Baldwin had appealed to the country for authority to introduce unlimited Protection as "the only remedy for Unemployment." The Conservatives though still the largest party were in a minority of the whole House of Commons. It rested with the Liberal Party whether they should carry on the Government or whether Labour should take their place.

**Liberal Attitude.** Doubt was set at rest when Mr. Asquith as Leader of the Liberal Party, on December 18th announced that he would not support the Government on the address to the King's Speech. His whole speech, however, betrayed a lofty

patronage towards Labour, which had a profound effect on the relations between the two parties. Though on January 21st the Liberal Party supported the Labour Vote of Censure amendment to the King's Speech, which compelled the resignation of the Conservative Government, their subsequent actions towards the Labour Government only more deeply embittered these relations. Perpetual friction, in a less or greater degree, between Liberals and Labour is the keynote to the whole session.

This friction, hampering and petty, manifested itself almost immediately on the formation of the Labour Government. On January 22nd Mr. MacDonald was called upon by the King to form a Government, and the following day the names of the chief members of the Cabinet were published. The House of Commons, which had been adjourned, met on February 12th, and Mr. McDonald as Prime Minister outlined the policy the Labour Government was to pursue. On the second day of the Parliamentary life of the Labour Government the Liberals gave their first challenge. Mr. Wheatley, as Minister of Health, had revoked the effete and non-effective Mond order as applicable to the Poplar Guardians. Mr. Asquith challenged this administrative act in the plainest and most unequivocal terms. Yet when on February 23rd the motion on the subject came up, the Liberals were unable to sustain their position, and were compelled to support the Government against the closure. February 21st had seen another set back to the Liberals. On that day Mr. Ammon, Parliamentary Secretary to the Admiralty, announced that the Government intended to reduce the cruiser programme from eight to five. Mr. Pringle moved the adjournment of the House to draw attention to this decision and moved that no new cruisers be built. The Government, with the support of the Conservatives defeated the motion by a majority of 229. Another more serious rupture between the Liberal Party and the Labour Government was produced on the 2nd of May, the occasion being the second reading of the Proportional Representation Bill. A private Liberal Bill, the Party as such adopted it and demanded Government support. This was refused, and the issue left to the free vote of the House, which resulted in the defeat of the Bill. After this Liberal discontent was mainly evident outside the House of Commons, though it had its effect on the Agricultural Wages Bill and, later, a decisive effect on the Campbell Case and the Russian Treaties. Cordiality between Liberals and Labour existed only for a short time, when Liberals gave their

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whole-hearted support to the Budget, which they felt satisfied their fiscal principles.

**Unemployment.** In this atmosphere of friction and discontent the task of the Labour Government was none too easy. In a minority of 424 in the House of Commons it was expected to deal with Unemployment, the living issue of the 1923 election, on lines that would consort with the principles of the minor opposition. On the 19th February Mr. Clynes announced that a committee of the Cabinet had been set up to consider schemes for the relief of Unemployment. The same day saw the third reading of the Unemployment Insurance Bill which abolished the period of three weeks during which an unemployed person did not receive benefit—a period generally known as the "gap." On the 3rd of April two more Unemployment Insurance Bills were introduced to lighten further the hardships of the Unemployed by increasing benefit and making uncovenanted benefit a right instead of a favour. The Government underwent considerable criticism on their failure to produce any sufficing remedy for Unemployment. The supply vote for Ministry of Labour was kept open till a satisfactory scheme was produced. At the end of July Mr. Snowden announced that £5,000,000 would be spent on reconstruction of main trunk roads, with a further programme amounting to £13,500,000, to which the Government would contribute £10,400,000. He further announced that the four Railway Companies had agreed to an expenditure of £55,500,000. On the question of cheaper power, legislation was promised to give the Electricity Commissioners compulsory powers as proposed originally by the Coal Conservation Committee. Moreover, £10,000,000 was to be spent on the standardising of the frequency of current; the Severn Barrage Scheme to be revived; a preference to be given on home grown sugar; Treasury approval of the drainage of the basin of the Great Ouse. On the production of this scheme the Labour Ministry vote was passed, but general criticism was by no means quieted.

**Housing.** On its Housing proposals the Labour Government had to face criticism remarkable for its vehemence and lack of effect. The Housing Bill which Mr. Wheatley, as Minister of Health, was responsible for introducing, was passed into law substantially unaltered. On the Conservative side it was condemned on the grounds of expense, on the Liberal side, as

unworkable, but though these two points of view held the majority the Bill fundamentally remained intact. Its chief aim was to provide for the construction of houses *to let*. This aspect of housing was admittedly left untouched by Mr. Neville Chamberlain's Act of 1923, though in order to retain continuity in Housing policy this Act was used as a basis and extended. The Labour Government scheme, therefore, left unimpaired the powers of local authorities and retained the 950 superficial feet size of houses. The scheme did, however, increase the subsidy from £6 a house for 20 years to £9 a house for 40 years in urban areas, on the understanding that the local authority was prepared to provide a further subsidy of £4 10s. a house for 40 years, with the general aim of reducing rents of subsidy houses to those at which working-class houses built before the war are now let. The increased subsidies are only to be paid under specific conditions. (See *Housing*).

The whole scheme set out to build 2,500,000 houses by 1940, on a graduation beginning with 90,000 houses in 1925 and 225,000 houses in each year from 1934-1939. The cost was also graduated, reaching the highest figure of £23,150,000 from the Exchequer and £11,250,000 from local rates in each year from 1940 to 1961. It is as yet too early to estimate the success of the scheme, but the L.C.C. and cities such as Birmingham have taken it up.

**Agriculture.** The lack of a majority in support of the Labour Government was most evident in Labour's Agricultural policy. Mr. Buxton, as Minister for Agriculture, received the full support of the House of Commons in his scheme for assisting co-operative enterprises controlled by farmers. On his Agricultural Wages Bill, Liberal defection made it necessary to drop a vital section of the Bill. As originally introduced on April 14th, the Agricultural Wages Bill proposed to set up County Committees or Boards, representing farmers and farm labourers, authorised to fix a minimum wage for the particular area over which they have jurisdiction. It further proposed that a Central Board should confirm the county minimum wage before it should become legally binding. This section was amended in Committee, leaving a Central Board in existence merely to fix a minimum wage if the local committee had failed to come to an agreement. This amendment in the words of a Liberal member of the Committee, Mr. Emlyn Jones, took the heart out

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of the Bill, as the farm labourers have now no means of redress in a case where agreement was reached under duress, either owing to social intimidation or lack of Trade Union strength. Only after due deliberation did the Government decide to proceed with the Bill, which passed without further amendment. In cases where, up to the present, Agricultural Wages Committees have been set up, the effect has been a substantial increase in ruling rates of wages for farm labourers.

**Budget.** As has already been stated, possibly the only period of real Labour and Liberal co-operation existed at the time of the introduction of the Budget and subsequent discussion of the Finance Bill. It was greeted by the latter party as a child of their own, and Mr. Snowden, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, could count on their full support. The main features of the Budget were the halving of the duties on tea, sugar, coffee, cocoa, reduction from 10/6 to 7/- per cwt. on duties on dried fruits, and the abolition of the tax on table waters and herb beer taxes. A reduction was further proposed in the taxation of the cheaper seats liable to entertainments duty, the inhabited house duty was repealed, telephone rates reduced, and motor vehicle taxes modified. The tax on Corporation Profits was taken off on profits arising after June 30th, a decision that gave considerable pleasure to the City.

Typical Conservative extravagance manifested itself on the announcement that the McKenna duties—war time Tax to the extent of 33½ on imported motor cars, watches, musical instruments, etc.—would be abolished. Millions of men it was said would be thrown out of employment in the motor car industry. Responsible directors of the motor car industry lent themselves to the campaign and it played a considerable part in the Oxford by-election. Mr. Snowden's firmness was, however, justified, for the motor car industry has never been in a more thriving and healthy condition. Prices have come down and the number of workpeople employed has gone up since the abolition of the duty.

**Old Age Pensions.** Mr. Snowden saw his way to deal with Old Age Pensions. As the law stood thrifty Old Age Pensioners were at a disadvantage. Thanks to Labour's Old Age Pensions Act, a substantial, though by no means an entire, alleviation was effected in this respect. It has been estimated that 250,000 old-aged persons have benefited by the change.

**Education.** Mr. Trevelyan, as President of the Board of Education, was fortunate in having no need to acquire further powers. Educational legislation in the past had been liberal in its intention and could be interpreted by an enthusiastic President to effect great and beneficial changes. Education previously had suffered from the heavy hand of administration inspired by the spirit of the Geddes Economy Axe. This was at once reversed and local authorities stimulated instead of being discouraged. Mr. Trevelyan succeeded in getting 40 new secondary schools approved; a survey of all the elementary schools with the object of improving or replacing the insanitary ones instituted; the number of free places increased to the extent of 40 per cent., State scholarships were restored; the maintenance allowance for children in secondary schools was increased from 6s. to 9s.; the grant for adult education was increased by £10,000 to £30,000, and local authorities were appealed to to raise the school leaving age to 15 where conditions allowed. As the *Manchester Guardian* said, "No finer monument to a Labour Government could well be imagined than the lifting up of the whole standard of education for the mass of the people of this country."

Among important measures introduced, but not passed, that legalising the Washington Convention (48 hours week) may be mentioned.

**The Fall of the Labour Government.** The fall of the Labour Government is closely associated with its foreign policy (treated elsewhere), with regard to Russia. On August 7th Mr. MacDonald announced that two treaties had been signed with the Union of Russian Soviet States. These two treaties would lead to a third treaty in which Parliament would be asked to guarantee a loan. The Liberal Party took objection to the form of this proposed loan, conducted a lively anti-Bolshevik campaign in the country, and the defeat of the Government became assured after the recess. The immediate occasion of the Government's defeat, however, was what has popularly been called the "Campbell Case." The *Workers' Weekly*, the organ of the Communist Party of Great Britain, published an article which was deemed seditious by the Law Officers. A prosecution was instituted and later withdrawn on grounds of policy, a perfectly legitimate action. Its cause was the formation of a compact between Liberals and Tories. This was evidenced on

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October 8th, when the Tories voted against their own motion on the Campbell case and supported that of the Liberals, who demanded a non-judicial inquiry—in effect, a censure on the Government. The Government was, of course, defeated in the House of Commons. Next day, October 9th, Mr. MacDonald saw the King and announced, at the Labour Party Conference in London, that a General Election would take place on the 29th.

On October 13th the Tory-Liberal Pact against Labour was announced. This made the defeat of Labour a certainty and precluded the annihilation of the Liberal Party.

On November 4th, after a fruitless Cabinet inquiry into the alleged Zinoviev letter, which provided the most dramatic incident of the election campaign, the Labour Government resigned.

It may be noted that on December 15th, 1924, Mr. Chamberlain, the new Foreign Secretary, declared (1) that there had been no "hold up" of the Zinoviev letter by the Foreign Office; and (2) that the Foreign Office Note, signed by Mr. Gregory and issued with the letter on October 25th, had not been sanctioned by Mr. MacDonald. Further than that, on December 19th, 1924, Mr. Baldwin stated that the procedure of the Labour Government in relation to the Campbell Case had been constitutionally correct.

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### POPULATION

#### (a) ENGLAND AND WALES.

Census.	Persons.	Population.		No. of Females to 1,000 Males
		Males.	Females	
1801	8,892,536	4,254,735	4,637,801	1,057
1851	17,927,609	8,781,225	9,146,384	1,042
1901	32,527,843	15,728,613	16,799,230	1,068
1911	36,070,492	17,445,608	18,624,884	1,068
1921	37,885,242	18,082,220	19,803,022	1,095

#### (b) SCOTLAND.

1801	1,608,420	739,091	869,329	1,175
1851	2,888,742	1,375,479	1,513,263	1,100
1901	4,472,103	2,173,755	2,298,348	1,057
1911	4,760,904	2,308,839	2,452,065	1,062
1921	4,882,288	2,348,403	2,533,885	1,079

## DIARY OF EVENTS

- <sup>1923.</sup>  
 Dec. 6.—General Election.  
 12.—Labour Party National Executive passed resolution declaring that the Labour Movement was prepared to undertake the responsibility of forming a Government.  
 18.—Mr. Asquith's speech at the National Liberal Club declaring that the Liberals would vote against the Conservative Government.
- <sup>1924.</sup>  
 January 8.—Meeting of Parliament. Labour Victory Demonstration in the Albert Hall.  
 15.—King's Speech.  
 17.—Mr. Clynes moves Labour Amendment to the King's Speech (Vote of Censure).  
 21.—Labour Amendment carried. Government defeated by 328 votes to 256.  
 22.—Resignation of the Conservative Government. Mr. MacDonald becomes Prime Minister. Parliament adjourned.  
 23.—Names of Labour Cabinet published.
- February 1.—Irish Boundary Conference meets in London.  
 4.—Britain and France. Letters published between Mr. MacDonald and M. Poincaré.  
 12.—House of Commons re-assembles. Mr. MacDonald's statement of policy.  
 13.—Poplar Order. Mr. Asquith's threat.  
 18.—Unemployment Insurance Bill read a second time.  
 19.—Unemployment Insurance Bill read a third time.  
 21.—Civil Services and Revenue Departments Supplementary Estimates. Relief of Unemployment vote.  
 25.—Reparations—levy to be reduced from 26 per cent. to 5 per cent.  
 26.—Debate on Poplar Order.
- March 3.—Second set of letters between Mr. MacDonald and M. Poincaré.  
 13.—First Government defeat (suspension of the 11 o'clock rule).  
 18.—Mr. MacDonald announces the Government decision not to proceed with the Singapore Naval Base.  
 28.—London Traffic Bill read a second time.
- April 8.—Safeguarding of Industries Act. Mr. Sidney Webb announces that the Government would not extend Part II. of the Act, relating to depreciated currencies.  
 Unemployment Insurance (No. 3) Bill read a second time.  
 14.—Anglo-Russian Conference opened.

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- April 15.—Mr. MacDonald announces Government's policy on Dawes (Experts) Report.
- 16.—House of Commons adjourns—Easter Recess.
- 29.—House of Commons re-assembles. Mr. Snowden introduces the Budget.
- May 6.—Irish Boundary. Sir J. Craig announces Northern Ireland could take no part in the Boundary Commission.
- 13.—McKenna Duties. Mr. Baldwin moves resolution condemning the removal of the McKenna Duties on motor cars, watches, pianos, etc.
- 16.—Defeat of the Nationalisation of Mines and Minerals Bill.
- June 2.—Mr. Buxton moves second reading of the Agricultural Wages Bill.
- 3.—Housing. Money resolutions introduced by Mr. Wheatley.
- 4.—Mr. MacDonald announces the setting up of the Irish Boundary Commission.
- 6.—House of Commons adjourned.
- 16.—House of Commons re-assembles. Reparations. Inter Allied Conference opens.
- 17.—Imperial Preference. Mr. Baldwin introduces six resolutions.
- 21.—Mr. MacDonald and M. Herriot at Chequers.
- 25.—Old Age Pensions. Financial resolution agreed to.
- August 1.—McKenna Duties lapse.
- 5.—Announcement that Anglo-Soviet Conference had broken down. German delegates attend Inter-Allied Conference. Mr. John Campbell, editor of "Workers' Weekly" arrested.
- 7.—Anglo-Soviet Conference reaches agreement and two Treaties drawn up.
- 13.—Charge against Mr. Campbell withdrawn.
- 16.—Inter-Allied Conference terminates: London Settlement initialled.
- Sept. 4.—Mr. MacDonald attends Assembly of League of Nations (Geneva).
- 22.—Mr. Asquith's letter opposing the Anglo-Soviet Treaties.
- 30.—House of Commons re-assembles. Sir P. Hastings' statement on Campbell prosecution.
- October 2.—Irish Free State (Confirmation of Agreement) Bill read a third time.
- 8.—Government defeated on Campbell Case.
- 9.—Parliament dissolved.
- 13.—Election Manifesto of the three parties published.
- 25.—Foreign Office Note to M. Rakovsky and Zinovieff Letter published.
- 29.—Polling.
- Nov. 4.—Cabinet report on Zinovieff Letter.  
Resignation of the Labour Government.  
Mr. Baldwin becomes Prime Minister.

# CHIEF ACTS OF PARLIAMENT PASSED IN 1924

EPITOME.

## **Unemployment Insurance Act, 1924.**

**T**HIS is the first Act passed by the Labour Government and provides for the abolition of proviso 2 of the Unemployment Insurance Act 1923, which relates to the conditions for receipt of benefit following the fourth and special period. The effect is to abolish what is known as the "gap" in Unemployment Benefit.

## **Unemployment Insurance Act (No. 2), 1924.**

This Act provides for unemployment benefit to be paid to an insured contributor (subject to certain conditions) in the proportion of one week's benefit for every six contributions paid by the applicant for periods not exceeding in the aggregate 26 weeks for any one benefit year. It further extends the increased benefit payable under the Act of 1922 to dependents other than those to whom benefit was originally payable and allows the same to be paid to a contributor even in a stoppage of work so long as he is not participating in or financing or directly interested in the trade dispute which caused the stoppage of work as more fully set out in the Act. The Act upon certain conditions further allows benefit to be paid to a contributor who is an inmate of a public institution.

## **Unemployment Insurance Act (No. 3), 1924.**

This Statute empowers the Minister of Labour upon certain conditions to authorise the receipt of benefit during the benefit year ending on the 15th October, 1924 for periods not exceeding in the aggregate 41 weeks. Under the Act of 1923 the maximum period for benefit was 26 weeks.

## **Treaty of Peace (Turkey) Act.**

This Act carries into effect the Treaty of Peace that was signed at Lausanne on the 24th July, 1923 and gives His Majesty power to make Orders in Council for that purpose subject to certain conditions.

## **Trade Facilities Act.**

This Act increases the maximum amount of loans that may be guaranteed and generally enlarges the powers of the Treasury

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in connection with loans, the application of which is calculated to promote employment in the United Kingdom.

### **Poor Law Provisions Continuance (Scotland) Act.**

This Act extends the duration of the Poor Law Emergency Provisions (Scotland) Act 1921 and enables a Parish Council, subject to the conditions contained in the Act, to make grants towards the emigration of any destitute able-bodied person who is unemployed.

### **Prevention of Eviction Act.**

This Act is to prevent the unreasonable eviction of tenants. It provides that where a landlord who has become such before the 5th May, 1924, is seeking to obtain possession of premises on the ground that they are required for his own occupation or for the occupation of his son or daughter over 18 years of age, he can only do so upon satisfying the Court that, having regard to all the circumstances of the case, including any alternative accommodation available for the landlord or the tenant, greater hardship would be caused by refusing to grant an order or judgment for possession than by granting it. Under the Acts of 1920 and 1923 a landlord, if he became such before the 30th June, 1922, need only have proved in order to obtain an eviction order that he required possession for himself or his son or daughter over 18 years of age, and if he became such after that date he had only to prove in addition to the foregoing that greater hardship would be caused by refusing than by granting an Order. Under these Acts alternative accommodation in neither case had to be shown.

### **Marriages (Provisional Orders) Act, 1924.**

This Act enlarges the powers of the Secretary of State to make Provisional Orders under the Provisional Order (Marriages) Act 1905 for the purpose of removing the invalidity or the doubt as to the validity of any Marriages.

### **Finance Act, 1924.**

This Act gave effect to Mr. Snowden's famous Budget of April last, under which the taxes on tea, sugar and certain household commodities were considerably reduced. The Entertainment Tax was also reduced and amended in many respects. Inhabited House Duty was abolished and Corporation Profit Tax ceased to be chargeable after the 30th June, 1924.

### **Public Works Loans Act.**

This Act enables the National Debt Commissioners to grant

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money on certain conditions for the purpose of certain Local Loans by the Public Works Loan Commissioners.

### National Health Insurance (Cost of Medical Benefit) Act.

This Act makes further provision with respect to the cost of Medical Benefit and to the expenses of the administration of benefits under the National Health Insurance Acts. Its chief provision is to increase the rate payable to Insurance Committees for administrative and medical purposes.

### Friendly Societies Act.

This Act varies the provisions of the original Friendly Societies Act of 1865 with regard to the qualifications for the office of Chief Registrar, and also by preventing Trade Unions and Industrial Assurance Companies from insuring the lives of children beyond the maximum amounts allowed by the Act.

### Pensions (Increase) Act, 1924.

Under this Act pensions under £100 payable out of moneys provided by Parliament or out of the Education (Scotland) Fund or by police, local or other public authorities under the Pensions (Increase) Act 1920 are upon certain conditions increased by percentages varying from 10 to 15 per cent.

### Old Age Pensions Act.

The effect of this Act is to enable an applicant for an Old Age Pension in calculating his means to exclude a sum not exceeding £39 derived from sources other than personal earnings.

### London Traffic Act.

A very apparent effect of this Act has been the re-numbering of many of the London Omnibus routes. Its chief provisions are the formation of an Advisory Committee of which the duties are to consider and advise upon London Traffic conditions and generally to assist the Minister of Transport in that behalf; the empowering of Licensing Authorities to attach conditions to the grant of omnibus licences and to limit the number of omnibuses plying for hire on certain streets and to impose a condition on the grant of a licence to the effect that the omnibus shall not without its consent ply for hire except by maintaining a regular service in which case the applicant for the licence must deposit with the licensing authority full particulars of the service and the routes upon which he intends to ply for hire.

### Housing (Financial Provisions) Act.

This Act embodies Mr. Wheatley's famous Housing proposals.

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It increased the Government contributions in the case of houses which are subject to special conditions, granting a subsidy of £9 or in the case of rural houses £12 10s. in respect of each house for the period of 40 years. It contains provisions as to town planning schemes and as to the materials and methods of construction of the houses.

### **Agricultural Wages (Regulation) Act.**

Under this Act an Agricultural Wages Committee is to be established for each county in England and Wales, and an Agricultural Wages Board for England and Wales by the Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries and such Committees have power to fix minimum rates of wages for workers employed in agriculture and generally to supervise the same. The decisions of the Committees are to be communicated to the Agricultural Wages Board which makes such Orders as may be necessary for carrying the same into effect. The Act contains penalties in case of disobedience to such Orders.

### **Arbitration Classes (Protocol) Act.**

This Act gives effect to a Protocol on Arbitration clauses signed at a meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations held on the 24th September, 1924, and provides that agreements for the settling by arbitration of certain commercial disputes between parties subject to the jurisdiction of different contracting States shall be recognised by such Contract States who undertake to ensure the execution by its authorities and in accordance with the provisions of its National Laws of Arbitral Awards made in its own territory under this Act.

### **Workmen's Compensation (Silicosis) Act.**

This Act extends the operation of the Workmen's Compensation Acts to the disease of Silicosis where it is not accompanied by tuberculosis.

### **Irish Free State (Confirmation of Agreement) Act.**

This Act was necessary owing to the refusal of the Government of Northern Ireland to appoint a Commissioner to the Boundary Commission to be set up under the Irish Treaty of 1922. It gives effect to an Agreement made between the British and the Irish Free State Government, under which unless a Commissioner should have been appointed by the date of the passing of this Act, i.e., 9th October, 1924, the British Government shall have power to appoint that Commissioner.

# THE MINISTRIES

\* Indicates Member of the Cabinet.

	NAME.	LABOUR MINISTRY (Formed Jan., 1924).	UNIONIST MINISTRY (Formed Nov., 1924).
Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (£5,000)	... ... ... ...	Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald*	Mr. Stanley Baldwin*
Lord Privy Seal (£5,000)	... ...	Mr. J. R. Clynes*	Marquess of Salisbury*
Lord President of the Council (£2,000)	... .. .	Lord Parmoor*	Marquess Curzon of Kedleston*
Lord Chancellor (£10,000)	... ...	Viscount Haldane*	Viscount Cave*
Home Department :—			
Secretary of State (£5,000)	... ...	Mr. A. Henderson*	Sir W. Joynson Hicks, Bt.*
Under-Secretary of State (£1,500)	... ...	Mr. R. J. Davies	Mr. G. Locker-Lampson
Foreign Affairs :—			
Secretary of State (£5,000)	... ...	Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald*	Mr. Austen Chamberlain*
Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State (£1,500)	... ...	Mr. A. Ponsonby	Mr. Ronald McNeill
Colonies :—			
Secretary of State (£5,000)	... ...	Mr. J. H. Thomas*	Mr. L. C. M. S. Amery*
Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State (£1,500)	... ...	Lord Arnold	Major Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore.
War Office :—			
Secretary of State (£5,000)	... ...	Mr. Stephen Walsh*	Sir L. Worthington Evans, Bart.*
Under-Secretary of State (£1,500)	... ...	Mr. C. R. Attlee	Earl of Onslow
Parliamentary and Financial Secretary (£1,500)	... ...	Mr. J. J. Lawson	Capt. H. D. King
Air Ministry :—			
Secretary of State (£3,000)	... ...	Lord Thomson*	Sir S. Hoare, Bart.*
Under-Secretary of State for Air (£1,500)	... ...	Mr. W. Leach	Sir P. Sassoon
India Office :—			
Secretary of State (£5,000)	... ...	Lord Olivier*	Earl of Birkenhead*
Under-Secretary of State (£1,500)	... ...	Mr. R. Richards	Earl Winterton

UNIONIST MINISTRY  
(Formed Nov., 1924).

LABOUR MINISTRY  
(Formed Jan., 1924).

<b>Admiralty :—</b>				
First Lord ( $\text{£4,500}$ )	... ..	... ..	... ..	Viscount Chelmsford*
Parliamentary and Financial Secretary	( $\text{£1,500}$ )	... ..	... ..	Mr. C. G. Ammon
Civil Lord ( $\text{£1,000}$ )	... ..	... ..	... ..	Mr. Frank Hodges
Board of Trade—				
President ( $\text{£5,000}$ )	... ..	... ..	... ..	Mr. Sidney Webb*
Parliamentary Secretary ( $\text{£1,500}$ )	... ..	... ..	... ..	Mr. A. V. Alexander
Mines Department :—				
Secretary ( $\text{£1,500}$ )	... ..	... ..	... ..	Mr. E. Shinwell
Overseas Trade Department :—				
Parliamentary Secretary ( $\text{£1,500}$ )	... ..	... ..	... ..	Mr. W. Lunn
Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries :—				
President ( $\text{£2,000}$ )	... ..	... ..	... ..	Mr. Noel Buxton
Parliamentary Secretary ( $\text{£1,200}$ )	... ..	... ..	... ..	Mr. W. R. Smith
Board of Education :—				
President ( $\text{£2,000}$ )	... ..	... ..	... ..	Mr. C. P. Trevelyan*
Parliamentary Secretary ( $\text{£1,200}$ )	... ..	... ..	... ..	Mr. Morgan Jones
Ministry of Health :—				
Minister ( $\text{£2,000}$ )	... ..	... ..	... ..	Mr. J. Wheatley*
Parliamentary Secretary ( $\text{£1,200}$ )	... ..	... ..	... ..	Mr. A. Greenwood
Ministry of Labour :—				
Minister ( $\text{£2,000}$ )	... ..	... ..	... ..	Mr. T. Shaw*
Parliamentary Secretary ( $\text{£1,200}$ )	... ..	... ..	... ..	Miss M. Bondfield
Ministry of Transport :—				
Minister ( $\text{£1,200}$ )	... ..	... ..	... ..	Mr. H. Gosling
Ministry of Pensions :—				
Minister ( $\text{£2,000}$ )	... ..	... ..	... ..	Mr. F. O. Roberts
Parliamentary Secretary ( $\text{£1,200}$ )	... ..	... ..	... ..	Mr. J. W. Muir
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster ( $\text{£2,000}$ )	... ..	... ..	... ..	Mr. J. C. Wedgwood*
First Commissioner of Works ( $\text{£2,000}$ )	... ..	... ..	... ..	Mr. F. W. Jowett*
Attorney-General ( $\text{£7,000 and Fees}$ )	... ..	... ..	... ..	Sir P. Hastings
Solicitor-General ( $\text{£6,000 and Fees}$ )	... ..	... ..	... ..	Sir H. H. Slesser

Mr. W. C. Bridgeman\*  
Mr. J. C. C. Davidson  
Earl Stanhope  
Sir P. Cunliffe-Lister\*  
Sir R. Burton Chadwick  
Lt.-Col. G. R. Lane-Fox

Mr. A. M. Samuel  
Hon. E. F. L. Wood\*  
Lord Bledisloe  
Lord Eustace Peacy\*  
Duchess of Atholl  
Mr. Neville Chamberlain\*  
Sir Kingsley Wood

Sir A. Steel-Maitland, Bart.\*  
Mr. H. B. Betterton  
Lt.-Col. J. T. C. Moore-Brabazon  
Major G. C. Tryon  
Lt.-Col. G. F. Stanley  
Viscount Cecil of Chelwood\*  
Viscount Peel\*  
Sir D. M. Hogg\*  
Sir T. W. H. Inskip

UNIONIST MINISTRY

(Formed Nov., 1924).

LABOUR MINISTRY  
(Formed Jan., 1924).

NAME.

Post Office:—

Postmaster-General ( $\text{£}2,500$ )	...	...	Mr. V. Hartshorn*
Parliamentary Secretary ( $\text{£}1,200$ )	...	...	Mr. H. Gosling
Paymaster-General (Unpaid)	...	...	Mr. H. Gosling

Treasury:—

Chancellor of the Exchequer ( $\text{£}5,000$ )	...	Mr. Philip Snowden*
Financial Secretary ( $\text{£}2,000$ )	...	Mr. W. Graham
Parliamentary Secretary ( $\text{£}1,000$ )	...	Mr. B. C. Spoor
Lords Commissioners ( $\text{£}1,000$ )	...	Mr. W. Graham
( $\text{£}1,000$ )	...	Mr. F. Hall
( $\text{£}1,000$ )	...	Mr. J. Robertson
(Unpaid)	...	Mr. T. Kennedy
(Unpaid)	...	Mr. T. Kennedy
Assistant Whip	...	...
Scotland:—	...	...

Secretary of State ( $\text{£}2,500$ )	...	Mr. W. Adamson*
Lord Advocate ( $\text{£}5,000$ )	...	Mr. H. P. Macmillan
Solicitor-General ( $\text{£}2,000$ )	...	Mr. J. C. Fenton
Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Health	...	Mr. J. Stewart
( $\text{£}1,200$ )	...	Mr. J. Stewart

Court:—

Lord Chamberlain ( $\text{£}2,000$ )	...	Earl of Cromer
Lord Steward of the Household ( $\text{£}2,000$ )	...	Earl of Shaftesbury
Treasurer of the Household ( $\text{£}904$ )	...	Mr. T. Griffiths
Comptroller of the Household ( $\text{£}904$ )	...	Mr. J. E. Parkinson
Vice-Chamberlain ( $\text{£}924$ )	...	Mr. J. E. Davidson
Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard ( $\text{£}1,200$ )	...	Earl of Dunmore
Master of the Horse ( $\text{£}2,500$ )	...	Lord Loch
Lords-in-Waiting (each $\text{£}702$ )	...	Earl of Granard
		Lord Muir-Mackenzie
		Earl De La Warr
		Viscount Hampden
		Lord Colebrook
		Lord Herschell

## GENERAL ELECTION, 1924

## NUMBER OF VOTES RECORDED.

Unionist ...	... 7,855,775	Liberal ...	... 2,929,532
Constitutional ...	... 185,075	Communist ...	... 101,893
Labour ...	... 5,487,455	Independent ..	... 81,243

## NUMBER OF ELECTORS IN UNCONTESTED CONSTITUENCIES.

Unionist ...	... 506,221	Liberal ...	... 193,814
Labour ...	... 344,637	Independent ...	... 32,897

## RESULTS.

Unionist ...	... 412 seats	Independent ...	... 5 seats
Constitutional ...	... 7 ,,	Communist ...	... 1 seat
Labour ...	... 150 ,,		
Liberal ...	... 40 ,,	Total	~ 615 seats

Constituency.	Party	Sitting Member.	Number of Votes Cast.		
			Lab.	Union- ist.	Total Lib. Electe.
<b>LONDON BOROUGHS</b>					
Battersea, North ..	Com.	Saklatvala, S.	15,096	14,554	— (40,586)
South ..	U.	Curzon, Viscount	14,371	10,588	— (44,369)
Bermondsey, Rotherhithe	Lab.	Smith, B.	12,703	8,375	— (29,966)
West ..	Lab.	Salter, Dr. A.	11,578	—	8,676 (26,680)
Bethnal Green, North-East	Lab.	Windsor, W.	9,560	—	9,465 (27,827)
South-West ..	L.	Harris, P. A.	6,024	2,467	6,236 (21,522)
Camberwell, Dulwich	U.	Hall, Sir F.	7,068	15,011	4,017 (33,833)
North ..	Lab.	Ammon, C. G.	11,300	7,564	1,729 (39,530)
North-West ..	U.	Campbell, E. T.	9,432	9,626	5,138 (32,347)
Peckham ..	Lab.	Dalton, H.	13,361	12,414	3,194 (39,053)
Chelsea ..	U.	Hoare, Sir S.	5,661	13,816	1,557 (39,582)
City of London (2.)	U.	Grenfell, E. C.	—	—	(44,327)
Bowater, Sir T.	U.	—	—	—	—
Deptford ..	Lab.	Bowerman, C. W.	21,903	18,279	— (55,797)
Finsbury ..	Lab.	Gillett, G. M.	12,363	11,643	2,324 (39,701)
Fulham, East ..	U.	Vaughan-Morgan, K.	10,403	16,657	— (39,151)
West ..	U.	Cobb, Sir Cyril	11,706	17,109	— (40,386)
Greenwich ..	U.	Hume, Sir G.	17,409	18,473	— (47,716)
Hackney, Central ..	U.	Gower, Sir Robt.	9,684	11,414	5,564 (35,960)
North ..	U.	Hudson, A. U. M.	6,997	11,975	7,181 (34,012)
South ..	L.	Garro-Jones, G. M.	11,657	—	13,415 (34,565)
Hammersmith, North ..	U.	Ashmead-Bartlett, E.	10,970	12,925	— (32,194)
South ..	U.	Bull, Sir W. . .	8,804	12,679	1,393 (31,633)
Hampstead ..	U.	Balfour, G.	5,662	21,432	— (40,300)
Holborn ..	U.	Remnant, Sir J.	3,718	11,428	— (27,490)
Islington, East ..	U.	Tasker, R. I.	10,280	14,174	7,406 (44,978)
North ..	U.	Cowan, Sir H.	12,376	15,562	7,136 (48,573)
South ..	Lab.	Cluse, W. S. . .	10,347	8,668	5,158 (34,818)
West ..	Lab.	Montague, F.	10,174	9,499	2,780 (33,427)
Kensington, North ..	U.	Gates, P. G.	14,401	16,255	— (44,015)
South ..	U.	Davison, Sir W. H.	—	—	(38,545)

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Constituency.	Party.	Sitting Member.	Number of Votes Cast		
			Lab.	Union-ist.	Total
Lambeth, Brixton ..	U.	Dalziel, Sir D.	7,210	15,755	4,871 (40,134)
Kennington ..	U.	Harvey, G.	11,572	14,808	— (37,620)
North ..	L.	Briant, F.	7,914	5,488	7,043 (31,866)
Norwood ..	U.	Greaves, Lord W. K.C.	—	—	(44,315)
Lewisham, East ..	U.	Pownall, Lt.-Col. A.	8,027	22,178	— (50,010)
West ..	U.	Dawson, Sir P.	13,621	23,842	— (40,611)
Paddington, North ..	U.	Perrine, W. G.	6,781	19,723	6,756 (44,078)
South ..	U.	King, H. D.	10,481	14,044	3,013 (38,225)
Poplar, Bow & Bromley ..	Lab.	Lansbury, G.	15,740	9,806	— (31,667)
South ..	Lab.	March, S.	16,224	—	9,700 (18,336)
St. Marblebone ..	U.	Hogg, Sir D., K.C.	8,782	24,300	— (30,666)
St. Pancras, North ..	U.	Fraser, I.	13,171	13,964	2,748 (37,721)
South-East ..	U.	Hopkins, J. W. W.	10,461	12,538	— (31,670)
South-West ..	U.	Barnett, Maj. R. W.	8,626	11,876	— (32,698)
Shoreditch ..	Lab.	Thurle, E.	16,608	—	14,748 (32,698)
Southwark, Central ..	Lab.	Dav, H.	9,108	5,937	7,817 (32,601)
North ..	Lab.	Guest, Dr. L. H.	8,115	3,305	7,085 (25,897)
South-East ..	Lab.	Naylor, T. E.	11,365	7,187	2,388 (31,436)
Stepney, Limehouse ..	Lab.	Attlee, Maj. C. R.	11,713	5,692	2,860 (30,927)
Mile End ..	Lab.	Scurr, J.	8,306	4,960	3,872 (24,245)
Whitechapel ..	Lab.	Gosling, H.	10,147	—	7,101 (25,496)
Stoke Newington ..	U.	Jones, G. W. H.	3,420	10,688	4,758 (24,838)
Wandsworth, Balham & Tooting ..	U.	Butt, Sir A.	9,672	20,378	— (42,765)
Central ..	U.	Jackson, Sir H.	8,235	13,234	— (39,342)
Clapham ..	U.	Leigh, Sir J.	9,204	16,404	— (36,872)
Putney ..	U.	Samuel, S.	6,609	17,341	— (35,030)
Streatham ..	U.	Lane Mitchell, Sir W.	3,204	15,936	4,111 (29,066)
Westminster, Abbey ..	U.	Nicholson, O.	4,308	17,915	— (38,069)
St. George's ..	U.	Erskine, J. M. M.	—	—	— (33,124)
Woolwich, East ..	Lab.	Snell, H.	16,600	11,862	— (34,436)
West ..	U.	Wood, Sir K.	12,304	16,504	— (30,153)
<b>ENGLISH BOROUGHS</b>					
Accrington ..	Const.	Edwards, J. H.	18,148	20,391	— (42,873)
Ashton-under-Lyne ..	U.	Homan, C. W. J.	7,451	8,971	6,202 (25,736)
Barnsley ..	Lab.	Potts, J.	14,738	—	13,785 (36,469)
Barrow-in-Furness ..	Lab.	Bromley, J.	15,512	14,802	— (33,714)
Bath ..	U.	Foxcroft, Capt. C. T.	3,914	16,667	8,800 (34,045)
Batley & Morley ..	L.	Forrest, W.	15,966	—	16,369 (38,839)
Birkenhead, East ..	U.	Stott, Lt.-Col. W. H.	7,496	11,328	9,275 (34,666)
West ..	U.	Nuttall, J. E.	12,723	13,059	— (31,774)
Birmingham, Aston ..	U.	Cecil, Sir E.	11,859	14,244	— (36,391)
Deritend ..	U.	Crooke, J. S.	12,766	13,552	— (37,980)
Duddeston ..	U.	Burman, J. B.	10,892	11,407	— (34,673)
Edgbaston ..	U.	Lowe, Sir F.	5,744	18,822	— (37,874)
Erdington ..	U.	Steel-Maitland, Sir A.	11,412	16,754	— (38,864)
Handsworth ..	U.	Lockyer-Lampson, Comdr. O.	10,516	20,056	— (38,872)
King's Norton ..	Lab.	Dennison, R.	10,497	10,364	3,370 (30,934)
Ladywood ..	U.	Chamberlain, N.	13,297	13,374	539 (33,641)
Moseley ..	U.	Hannon, P. J. H.	7,183	24,333	— (44,876)
Sparkbrook ..	U.	Amery, L. S.	9,759	15,718	1,580 (38,058)
West ..	U.	Chamberlain, A.	7,158	14,801	— (37,754)
Yardley ..	U.	Jephcott, A. R.	14,184	16,149	— (39,235)
Blackburn (2) ..	L.	Duckworth, J.	24,330	—	31,612 (65,522)
Blackpool ..	U.	Henn, Sir S.	24,317	31,347	—
Bolton (2) ..	U.	de Frece, Sir W.	—	25,839	18,712 (51,914)
Bootle ..	U.	Cunliffe, J. H., K.C.	30,632	34,097	10,036 (86,360)
Bournemouth ..	U.	Hilton, C.	28,924	33,405	8,558
		Henderson, Lt.-Col. V.L.	9,437	12,361	5,386 (35,305)
		Croft, Sir H. Page	7,735	20,620	— (41,038)

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Constituency.	Party.	Sitting Member.	Number of Votes Cast.				
			Lab.	Union- ist.	Lib.	Total Electe.	
Bradford, Central	U.	Gadie, Lt.-Col. A.	16,652	17,854	—	(45,127)	
East ..	L.	Fenby, T. D.	15,174	—	15,240	(37,658)	
North ..	U.	Ramsden, E..	9,442	11,459	8,007	(34,114)	
South ..	Lab.	Hirst, W.	13,919	11,586	10,237	(43,495)	
Brighton (a)	U.	Tryon, G. C.	14,072	39,387	—	(83,980)	
	U.	Rawson, Lt.-Com. A. C.	—	39,253	—		
Bristol, Central	U.	Inskip, Sir T., K.C.	14,018	17,177	—	(40,252)	
East ..	Lab.	Baker, W. J.	17,920	—	12,143	(36,441)	
North ..	L.	Guest, F. E.	12,319	—	1,779	(37,821)	
South ..	L.	Rees, Sir Beddoe	15,702	—	16,722	(39,056)	
West ..	U.	Gibbs, Col. G. A.	6,276	23,574	—	(39,752)	
Bromley	U.	James, Lt.-Col. C.	5,876	20,272	11,580	(48,028)	
Burnley	Lab.	Henderson, A.	20,549	16,084	8,601	(51,162)	
Bury ..	U.	Ainsworth, C.	10,286	13,382	4,847	(32,982)	
Cambridge ..	U.	Newton, Sir D.	6,744	12,628	4,670	(29,372)	
Carlisle ..	U.	Watson, W., K.C.	10,676	12,787	—	(26,326)	
Cheltenham ..	U.	Age-Gardener, Sir J.	—	11,009	9,146	(25,454)	
Coventry ..	U.	Boyd-Carpenter, A.	17,888	22,712	12,953	(63,160)	
Croydon, North ..	U.	Mason, Lt.-Col. G. K. M.	10,954	25,072	—	(50,697)	
South ..	U.	Mitchell-Thomson, Sir W.	12,070	23,734	—	(50,964)	
Derby (2) ..	U.	Pease, W. E..	13,008	15,174	—	(30,058)	
Derbyton ..	Lab.	Thomas, J. H.	27,423	21,700	7,083	(65,531)	
Dewsbury ..	Lab.	Luce, Sir R.	25,172	23,425	—		
Dudley ..	U.	Riley, B.	9,941	7,516	6,723	(28,677)	
Ealing ..	U.	Lloyd, C. E..	10,314	11,199	—	(26,826)	
East Ham, North ..	U.	Nield, Sir H., K.C.	6,765	18,572	—	(34,623)	
South ..	Lab.	Crook, C. W.	10,137	11,194	6,978	(35,406)	
Eccles ..	U.	Barnes, A.	13,044	—	12,056	(34,651)	
Edmonton ..	Lab.	Bethel, A.	14,798	16,823	—	(38,257)	
Exeter ..	U.	Broad, F. A.	11,014	10,278	—	(31,020)	
Gateshead ..	Lab.	Newman, Sir R.	6,359	14,522	4,358	(30,729)	
Gloucester ..	U.	Beckett, J.	23,514	14,178	9,185	(56,658)	
Great Yarmouth ..	U.	Horlick, Lt.-Col. J. N.	8,005	10,525	3,566	(26,606)	
Grimsby ..	U.	Meyer, Sir F.	3,264	10,273	9,202	(28,447)	
Halifax ..	L.	Womersley, W. J.	14,874	21,487	5,442	(54,724)	
The Hartlepools ..	U.	Whitney, J. H.	—	—	—	(51,220)	
Hastings ..	U.	Sugden, Sir W.	3,717	10,077	15,724	(42,676)	
Hornsey ..	U.	Percy, Lord E.	6,082	15,217	—	(30,195)	
Huddersfield ..	Lab.	Wallace, E.	4,277	21,017	13,217	(47,174)	
Hythe ..	U.	Hudson, J. H.	19,010	16,745	16,626	(59,176)	
Iford ..	U.	Sassoon, Sir P.	3,036	12,343	—	(21,058)	
Ipswich ..	U.	Wise, Sir F.	8,460	22,825	7,780	(52,243)	
Kingston-upon-Hull ..	L.	Ganzoni, Sir J.	15,791	19,621	—	(40,379)	
Central ..		Kenworthy, Lt.-Com.					
East ..	U.	J. M.	—	12,904	15,234	(36,514)	
North-West ..	U.	Lumley, L. R.	11,130	12,296	5,140	(35,67)	
South-West ..	U.	Ward, Lt.-Col. A. L.	5,151	15,072	444	(Ind.)	
Kingston-upon-Thames ..	U.	Grotorian, H. B.	7,965	11,190	8,080	(34,835)	
Leeds, Central ..	U.	Penny, F. G.	5,040	10,923	8,155	(36,240)	
North ..	U.	Wilson, Sir C. H.	10,975	16,182	2,850	(30,868)	
North-East ..	U.	Beckett, Sir G.	7,920	18,502	—	(44,532)	
South ..	Lab.	Birchall, J. D.	5,984	16,396	—	(39,373)	
South-East ..	Lab.	Charleton, H. C.	12,857	11,004	3,007	(38,039)	
West ..	Lab.	Slesser, Sir H., K.C.	15,133	—	3,800	(36,085)	
Leicester, East ..	U.	Stamford, T. W.	13,057	13,054	10,704	(35,994)	
South ..	U.	Loder, J. V.	15,669	16,090	4,597	(39,044)	
West ..	Lab.	Waterhouse, C.	8,912	15,005	6,079	(36,805)	
Leigh ..	Lab.	Lawrence, F. W.	Pethick ..	16,047	15,310	(41,207)	
	Lab.	Tinker, J.	17,262	16,247	—	(38,010)	

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Constituency.	Party.	Sitting Member.	Number of Lab. Union- ist.	Votes Cast. Lib. Total Electr.
Leyton, East . . . . .	U.	Alexander, E. E. . . . .	9,087 10,649	3,174 (29,506)
West . . . . .	U.	Cassels, J. D., K.C. . . . .	9,809 13,212	5,252 (35,958)
Lincoln . . . . .	Lab.	Taylor, R. A. . . . .	11,596 11,557	4,952 (31,768)
Liverpool, East Toxteth	U.	Jacob, A. E. . . . .	6,520 10,139	4,163 (35,238)
Edge Hill . . . . .	Lib.	Hives, J. H. . . . .	14,168 12,587	— (34,254)
Everton . . . . .	U.	Woodcock, Col. H. C. . . . .	10,075 10,705	— (28,725)
Exchange . . . . .	U.	Scott, Sir L., K.C. . . . .	— —	— (41,178)
Farnsfield . . . . .	U.	Cohen, J. B. . . . .	8,412 14,277	— (31,430)
Kirkdale . . . . .	U.	Pennefather, Sir J. . . . .	9,369 14,392	— (32,202)
Scotland . . . . .	Nat.	O'Connor, T. P. . . . .	— —	— (32,897)
Walton . . . . .	U.	Chilcott, Sir W. . . . .	8,924 13,387	1,910 (31,482)
Wavertree . . . . .	U.	Timne, J. A. . . . .	10,383 14,663	5,206 (36,936)
West Derby . . . . .	U.	Allen, J. S. . . . .	8,807 15,667	5,321 (38,579)
West Toxteth . . . . .	Lab.	Gibbons, J. . . . .	15,542 15,163	— (38,540)
Manchester, Ardwick . . . . .	Lab.	Lowth, T. . . . .	15,941 13,115	— (38,188)
Blackley . . . . .	U.	Kriggs, H. . . . .	6,195 9,737	6,600 (26,374)
Clayton . . . . .	Lab.	Sutton, J. F. . . . .	17,338 14,634	— (37,729)
Exchange . . . . .	U.	Fielden, E. B. . . . .	— 13,200	10,693 (40,487)
Gorton . . . . .	Lab.	Compton, J. . . . .	16,383 12,898	— (30,378)
Hulme . . . . .	U.	Nall, Sir J. . . . .	13,080 15,374	3,277 (40,931)
Moss Side . . . . .	U.	Hurst, Col., G. B., K.C. . . . .	— 14,035	10,026 (34,716)
Platt . . . . .	Lab.	Clynes, J. R. . . . .	17,233 16,228	1,538 (40,629)
Rusholme . . . . .	U.	Merrin, F. B., K.C. . . . .	5,328 13,341	7,773 (33,147)
Withington . . . . .	U.	Watts, Dr. T. . . . .	2,467 13,633	10,335 (32,712) 236 (Ind.)
Middlesbrough, East . . . . .	Lab.	Wilkinson, Miss E. . . . .	9,574 8,647	6,688 (20,747)
West . . . . .	L.	Thomson, T. . . . .	— —	— (35,573)
Morpeth . . . . .	Lab.	Smillie, R. . . . .	19,248 10,828	3,805 (45,164)
Nelson and Colne . . . . .	Lab.	Greenwood, A. . . . .	19,922 —	10,479 (44,871)
Newcastle-under-Lyme . . . . .	Lab.	Wedgwood, Col. J. . . . .	14,220 10,425	— (30,810)
Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Central . . . . .	Lab.	Trevelyan, C. P. . . . .	14,542 13,646	— (35,351)
East . . . . .	Lab.	Connolly, M. . . . .	13,120 2,420	12,776 (33,773)
North . . . . .	U.	Doyle, Sir N. G. . . . .	6,991 18,386	— (34,342)
West . . . . .	Lab.	Palin, J. H. . . . .	13,089 8,459	7,208 (34,326)
Northampton . . . . .	U.	Holland, Sir A. . . . .	15,046 16,017	9,436 (46,543)
Norwich (2) . . . . .	Lab.	Young, Com. E. H. . . . .	23,808 —	28,842
Nottingham, Central . . . . .	U.	Fairfax, J. G. . . . .	22,931 28,529	— (61,995)
East . . . . .	U.	Bennett, A. J. . . . .	6,852 15,107	4,400 (34,411)
South . . . . .	U.	Brocklebank, C. E. R. . . . .	2,690 11,524	10,078 (32,511)
West . . . . .	U.	Cavendish-Bentinck, Lord H. . . . .	8,897 13,725	— (31,271)
Oldham (2) . . . . .	Lab.	Hayday, A. . . . .	12,782 9,790	— (31,574)
Oxford . . . . .	U.	Cooper, A. Duff . . . . .	23,623 37,419	— (71,834)
Plymouth, Devonport . . . . .	L.	Grigg, Sir E. . . . .	22,081 —	36,761
Drake . . . . .	U.	Bourne, R. C. . . . .	2,260 12,196	6,836 (27,139)
Sutton . . . . .	L.	Hore-Belisha, L. . . . .	6,350 10,534	11,115 (33,159)
Portsmouth, Central . . . . .	U.	Benn, Sir A. S. . . . .	12,161 14,669	3,645 (36,626)
North . . . . .	U.	Astor, Viscountess . . . . .	13,095 18,174	— (38,270)
South . . . . .	U.	Foster, Sir H. S. . . . .	10,525 14,028	5,926 (37,906)
Preston (2) . . . . .	U.	Falke, Sir B. . . . .	10,279 17,597	— (37,168)
Reading . . . . .	U.	Cayzer, Sir H. . . . .	8,310 22,423	— (41,417)
Richmond . . . . .	Lab.	Shaw, T. . . . .	27,009 24,577	25,327 (60,840)
Rochdale . . . . .	U.	Kennedy, A. R., K.C. . . . .	— 25,887	—
Rochester, Chatham . . . . .	U.	Williams, H. G. . . . .	18,337 21,338	— (46,234)
Gillingham . . . . .	U.	Moore, Sir N. J. . . . .	6,034 19,948	— (35,704)
Rossendale . . . . .	U.	Kelly, W. T. . . . .	14,600 14,112	14,472 (47,859)
Rotherham . . . . .	Lab.	Moore, Brabazon, Lt.-Col. J. T. C. . . . .	9,276 13,184	2,806 (32,677)
St. Helens . . . . .	Lab.	Hohler, Sir G., K.C. . . . .	8,309 12,418	2,839 (30,212)
		Waddington, R . . . . .	9,951 12,836	7,958 (36,394)
		Lindley, F. W. . . . .	18,860 15,712	— (42,251)
		Sexton, J. . . . .	21,313 16,908	— (45,980)

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Constituency	Party	Sitting Member.	Lab.	Union- ist.	Lib.	Cast Total
Salford, North . . . . .	U.	Ford, Mr. S . . . . .	13,114	14,250	3,818	(36,332)
South . . . . .	U.	Rosen, F. A . . . . .	14,455	15,163	—	(37,214)
West . . . . .	U.	A. G. M. t. Corn. . . . .	—	—	—	—
Sheffield, Attercliffe . . .	I. Lib.	Wilson, C. H. . . . .	12,367	16,719	—	(34,326)
Birch Vale . . . . .	Lab.	H. . . . .	16,02	9,629	—	(34,343)
Central . . . . .	U.	H. A. W. H. . . . .	17,953	13,708	—	(38,970)
Eccles, E. . . . .	U.	H. F. . . . .	12,065	13,302	—	(35,29)
Hallam . . . . .	U.	S. S. St. F. H. . . . .	8,807	15,546	—	(31,193)
Hunslet, E. . . . .	I. Lib.	J. V. . . . .	10,573	12,554	—	(37,380)
Park . . . . .	U.	J. S. . . . .	11,579	14,753	—	(31,618)
Sheffield (2) . . . . .	Lab.	D. . . . .	—	13,230	—	(35,413)
Southgate . . . . .	U.	J. . . . .	22,102	35,703	—	(78,709)
Southern-on-Sea . . . . .	U.	J. . . . .	21,78	30,201	—	—
Southport . . . . .	U.	M. J. L. C. C. D. . . . .	11,144	23,417	10,924	(47,250)
South Shields . . . . .	Lab.	N. J. L. C. C. D. . . . .	—	17,430	11,155	(35,921)
Stockport (2) . . . . .	U.	R. C. . . . .	16,852	—	23,171	(53,122)
Stockport . . . . .	Lab.	G. J. . . . .	21,0	28,057	12,386	(64,689)
Stockton-on-Tees . . . . .	U.	K. . . . .	—	29,117	—	—
Stockton-on-Tees, Hartlepool Hillock . . . . .	I. Lib.	J. C. . . . .	11,05	15,103	8,971	(39,081)
Stoke . . . . .	C.	M. G. . . . .	1,001	13,755	—	(31,875)
Sunderland (2) . . . . .	U.	C. . . . .	12,527	11,073	—	(34,841)
Tottenham, North . . . . .	Lab.	W. C. J. . . . .	12,318	17,864	—	(41,266)
South . . . . .	U.	T. . . . .	21,623	20,612	20,130	(78,361)
Tottenham, North . . . . .	Lab.	P. . . . .	—	2,008	13,731	—
Tynemouth . . . . .	U.	M. H. . . . .	13,800	13,243	—	(37,993)
Walsall . . . . .	U.	M. K. . . . .	12,059	13,600	—	(35,700)
Walsall . . . . .	U.	R. G. . . . .	6,818	11,210	6,822	(29,434)
Walsall . . . . .	U.	G. . . . .	10,192	11,080	—	(25,080)
Walsend . . . . .	Lab.	G. . . . .	18,614	22,590	—	(41,816)
Walsall . . . . .	U.	H. . . . .	17,274	15,672	—	(38,508)
Walsall . . . . .	U.	Ireston, W. . . . .	11,474	15,108	12,734	(46,407)
Walthamstow, East . . . . .	Const.	Greenwood, Sir H. . . . .	8,246	11,312	3,745	(29,861)
West . . . . .	L.	C. . . . .	12,521	—	12,991	(33,780)
Warrington . . . . .	U.	P. . . . .	15,251	16,783	—	(35,204)
Wednesday . . . . .	Lab.	Short, A. . . . .	18,170	17,832	—	(40,035)
West Bromwich . . . . .	Lab.	Roberts, F. O. . . . .	15,384	14,413	—	(34,503)
West Ham, Plaistow . . . . .	Lab.	Thorne, W. . . . .	15,009	7,638	—	(37,441)
Silvertown . . . . .	Lab.	Jones, J. . . . .	15,962	3,732	—	(35,087)
Stratford . . . . .	Lab.	Groves, T. E. . . . .	13,264	10,414	—	(34,293)
Upton . . . . .	U.	Holt, H. P. . . . .	11,443	13,410	—	(33,244)
Wigan . . . . .	Lab.	Peterson, J. A. . . . .	20,350	15,006	—	(40,217)
Willesden, East . . . . .	U.	Starley, Col. G. F. . . . .	7,580	15,695	7,992	(41,870)
West . . . . .	Lab.	Viant, S. P. . . . .	14,884	13,539	3,001	(40,602)
Wimbledon . . . . .	U.	Power, Sir J. . . . .	7,386	21,209	—	(39,604)
Wolverhampton, Bilston East . . . . .	Lab.	Baker, J. . . . .	14,583	12,840	—	(33,444)
West . . . . .	U.	Thorne, G. R. . . . .	5,188	10,013	11,066	(32,602)
Worcester . . . . .	U.	Bird, Sir R. . . . .	17,046	17,886	—	(40,661)
York . . . . .	U.	Greene, W. P. C. . . . .	3,272	11,956	6,139	(25,617)
WELSH BOROUGHS						
Cardiff, Central . . . . .	U.	Mariott, Sir J. . . . .	15,500	19,914	—	(41,774)
East . . . . .	U.	Lougher, L. . . . .	9,864	14,537	4,805	(38,026)
South . . . . .	U.	Kinloch-Cooke, Sir C. . . . .	8,150	19,016	6,684	(30,218)
Carnarvon . . . . .	U.	Evans, Capt. A. . . . .	9,324	11,542	2,287	(29,388)
Merthyr Tydfil, Aberdare	Lab.	George, Dr. Lloyd . . . . .	3,401	—	16,058	(25,281)
Merthyr . . . . .	Lab.	Hall, G. H. . . . .	24,343	—	15,201	(47,326)
Newport . . . . .	U.	Wallhead, R. C. . . . .	10,582	13,383	—	(38,276)
Rhondda, East . . . . .	Lab.	Clarry, R. G. . . . .	18,263	20,426	—	(45,138)
West . . . . .	Lab.	Morgan, Lt.-Col. D. W. . . . .	—	—	—	(40,552)
		John, W. . . . .	—	—	—	(37,074)

Constituency.	Party.	Sitting Member.	Lab.	Union- ist.	Lib.	Votes Cast. Total Elecrt.
Swansea, East .....	Lab.	Williams, D. ....	11,274	—	10,186 (27,827)	
West .....	L.	Runciman, W. ....	9,188	8,322	10,033 (31,600)	
<b>SCOTTISH BURGHS.</b>						
Aberdeen, North .....	Lab.	Rose, F. H. ....	13,249	8,545	—	(33,826)
South .....	U.	Thomson, F. C., K.C.	10,699	16,092	—	(38,958)
Ayr .....	U.	Baird, Sir J. ....	9,787	16,153	—	(35,316)
Dumbarton .....	Lab.	Kirkwood, D. ....	14,502	10,027	—	(29,510)
Dundee (2) .....	Lab.	Morel, E. D. ....	32,846	28,118	25,566 (78,297)	
Dunfermline .....	Ind.	Scrymgeour, E. ....	8,340	—	29,193 (Ind.)	
Edinburgh, Central .....	Lab.	Watson, W. M. ....	13,887	—	10,118 (30,518)	
East .....	Lab.	Graham, W. ....	13,627	8,896	—	(32,744)
North .....	U.	Shiels, D. ....	9,220	6,105	5,625 (27,474)	
South .....	U.	Ford, P. J. ....	8,192	14,461	6,669 (37,599)	
West .....	U.	Chapman, Sir S. ....	—	15,854	8,777 (33,447)	
Glasgow, Bridgeton .....	Lab.	MacIntyre, I. ....	9,603	10,628	8,790 (36,618)	
Camlachie .....	Lab.	Maxton, J. ....	16,850	10,633	—	(36,572)
Cathcart .....	Lab.	Stephen, C. ....	14,588	14,373	—	(35,914)
Central .....	U.	MacDonald, R. ....	9,915	18,440	—	(35,055)
Gorbals .....	Lab.	Alexander, Sir W. ....	12,617	18,258	—	(44,014)
Govan .....	Lab.	Buchanan, G. ....	19,480	10,092	—	(40,491)
Hillhead .....	U.	McLean, Neil ....	15,132	8,815	—	(31,494)
Kelvingrove .....	U.	Horne, Sir R., K.C.	6,957	14,572	—	(27,521)
Maryhill .....	U.	Elliot, W. E. ....	12,844	18,034	—	(39,843)
Partick .....	U.	Couper, J. B. ....	13,947	15,460	—	(34,937)
Pollok .....	U.	Brown-Lindsay, H. ....	9,612	13,167	—	(27, 50)
St. Rollox .....	Lab.	Gilmour, Sir J. ....	6,749	20,622	—	(35,739)
Shettleston .....	Lab.	Stewart, J. ....	16,299	—	11,238 (37,078)	
Springburn .....	Lab.	Wheatley, J. ....	12,714	12,084	—	(39,327)
Tradeston .....	Lab.	Hardie, G. D. ....	15,635	12,043	—	(34,920)
Greenock .....	L.	Henderson, T. ....	14,067	—	11,074 (34,377)	
Kirkcaldy .....	Lab.	Collins, Sir G. ....	7,590	—	12,752 (33,093)	
Leith .....	U.	(Com.)	5,874	—		
Montrose .....	L.	Kennedy, T. ....	14,038	—	12,607 (32,738)	
Paisley .....	L.	Benn, Wedgwood ....	11,250	—	16,569 (30,480)	
Stirling and Falkirk .....	Lab.	Hutchison, Sir R. ....	6,914	—	9,226 (23,682)	
Kirkcaldy .....	Lab.	Mitchell, E. R. ....	17,057	—	14,829 (37,901)	
Leith .....	Lab.	Murnin, H. ....	13,456	—	11,512 (30,592)	
<b>ENGLISH COUNTIES.</b>						
Bedford, Bedford .....	U.	Wells, S. R. ....	5,330	15,000	8,451 (35,227)	
Luton .....	U.	O'Connor, T. J. ....	5,850	15,443	11,495 (39,701)	
Mid. ....	U.	Warner, Brig.-Gen.	—	—		
W. W. ....	U.	W. W. ....	—	12,317	11,356 (36,964)	
Berkshire, Abingdon .....	U.	Glyn, R. G. C. ....	1,355	13,17	8,805 (28,016)	
Newbury .....	U.	Brown, Brig.-Gen.	—	—		
Windsor .....	U.	H. C. ....	1,219	14,759	10,444 (32,969)	
Buckinghamshire,	U.	Somerville, A. A. ....	5,514	20,370	— (38,326)	
Aylesbury .....	U.	Burgoyne, Sir A. ....	2,655	18,132	11,574 (39,448)	
Buckingham .....	U.	Bowyer, G. E. W. ....	8,939	15,129	5,144 (27,394)	
Wycombe .....	U.	Knox, Sir A. ....	4,626	20,820	12,526 (48,652)	
Cambridge .....	U.	Briscoe, R. G. ....	10,781	15,530	— (37,626)	
Chester, Altringham .....	U.	Atkinson, C., K.C. ....	—	24,439	15,654 (47,253)	
City of Chester .....	U.	Cayzer, Sir C. ....	5,451	12,491	5,538 (28,657)	
Crewe .....	U.	Craig, E. ....	14,705	18,333	— (38,583)	
Eddisbury .....	U.	Barnston, Sir H. ....	—	11,006	9,337 (23,404)	
Knutsford .....	U.	Makins, Brig.-Gen. E. ....	—	18,199	11,885 (37,191)	
Macclesfield .....	U.	Remer, J. R. ....	10,187	17,171	6,434 (39,962)	
Northwich .....	U.	Crichton-Stuart,	—	—		
Stalybridge and Hyde .....	U.	Lord C. ....	11,630	14,545	7,465 (41,670)	
Wirral .....	U.	Wood, E. W. H. ....	12,509	16,412	8,201 (44,175)	
	U.	Grace, J. ....	—	17,705	11,697 (37,232)	

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Constituency.	Party.	Sitting Member.	Number of Votes Cast			
			Lab.	Union- ist	Lib.	Total
Cornwall, Bodmin	U.	Harrison, G. J. C.	—	14,163	13,548 (33,635)	
Camborne	Const.	Moreing, A. H.	5,477	9,530	7,220 (34,399)	
Northern	U.	Williams, A. M.	—	12,639	10,027 (30,202)	
Penryn and Falmouth	U.	Pilcher, G.	6,462	12,485	9,013 (38,640)	
St. Ives	U.	Hawke, J. A., K.C.	—	11,159	9,012 (30,512)	
Cumberland, Northern	U.	Howard, D.	2,125	10,586	8,821 (22,717)	
Penrith and Cocker- mouth	U.	Dixey, A. C. N.	5,404	11,431	— (22,166)	
Whitehaven	U.	Hudson, R. S.	1,741	13,149	— (28,234)	
Workington	Lab.	Cape, T.	15,353	12,243	— (32,690)	
Derby, Belper	U.	Wragg, H.	10,618	14,766	— (34,453)	
Chesterfield	L.	Kenvon, B.	9,206	—	13,971 (36,204)	
Clay Cross	Lab.	Duncan, C.	14,618	8,069	— (33,806)	
High Peak	U.	Hill-Wood, Sir S.	—	14,560	12,772 (35,921)	
Ikكeston	Lab.	Oliver, G. H.	1,011	9,203	4,320 (32,283)	
North-Eastern	Lab.	Lee, F.	13,420	9,914	6,529 (38,087)	
Southern	U.	Grant, J. A.	15,033	10,448	5,647 (45,723)	
Western	U.	Hartington, Marquess of	—	15,324	11,612 (32,736)	
Devon, Barnstaple	U.	Peto, B. E.	—	15,479	14,284 (34,638)	
Honiton	U.	Morrison-Bell, Sir C.	—	14,804	12,025 (31,388)	
South Molton	U.	Drewe, C.	—	12,811	12,157 (29,253)	
Tavistock	U.	Slaney, P. K.	—	12,058	10,766 (28,581)	
Tiverton	U.	Troyte, Col. G. A.	—	13,601	11,942 (28,432)	
Torquay	U.	Williams, C.	2,752	18,119	11,958 (38,917)	
Totnes	U.	Harvey, S. E.	2,440	19,771	14,786 (43,664)	
Dorset, Eastern	U.	Caine, G. R. Hall	4,205	14,479	8,828 (34,249)	
Northern	U.	Hanbury, C.	—	11,819	10,431 (25,616)	
Southern	U.	Yerburgh, R. D. T.	5,821	13,900	— (29,845)	
Western	U.	Colfox, W. P.	5,764	12,426	— (24,852)	
Durham, Barnard Castle	U.	Headlam, Lt.-Col. C. M.	9,152	9,465	— (21,931)	
Bishop Auckland	Lab.	Spoor, B. C.	15,784	—	12,866 (35,346)	
Blaydon	Lab.	Whiteley, W.	17,670	10,549	— (36,644)	
Chester-le-Street	Lab.	Lawson, J. J.	22,700	9,250	— (40,570)	
Consett	Lab.	Dunnico, Rev. H.	18,842	14,836	— (40,291)	
Durham	Lab.	Ritson, J.	15,032	9,614	2,747 (32,158)	
Houghton-le-Spring	Lab.	Richardson, R.	17,857	—	13,023 (38,767)	
Jarrow	Lab.	Wilson, R. J.	18,203	13,527	— (39,057)	
Seaham	Lab.	Webb, S.	22,399	11,778	— (43,351)	
Sedgefield	U.	Ropner, Major L.	12,552	13,968	— (31,056)	
Spennymoor	Lab.	Batey, J.	17,211	10,101	— (34,837)	
Essex, Chelmsford	U.	Curtis-Bennett, Sir H. K. C.	2,904	15,875	10,244 (37,566)	
Colchester	U.	Worthington-Evans, Sir L.	10,953	14,283	— (32,009)	
Epping	Const.	Churchill, W.	3,268	19,843	10,080 (43,055)	
Harwich	U.	Rice, Sir F.	1,604	12,219	9,904 (30,047)	
Maldon	U.	Ruggles-Brise, E. A.	9,323	13,209	2,724 (30,573)	
Romford	U.	Rhys, C. A. U.	13,312	15,520	5,057 (46,708)	
Saffron Walden	U.	Mitchell, W. F.	6,340	12,289	5,195 (32,590)	
South-Eastern	U.	Looker, H. W.	13,820	19,731	— (48,412)	
Gloucester, Cirencester & Tewkesbury	U.	Davies, Sir T.	7,078	18,201	— (36,934)	
Forest of Dean	Lab.	Wignall, J.	11,048	9,739	— (29,696)	
Stroud	U.	Nelson, Sir F.	7,418	15,973	6,057 (37,336)	
Thornbury	U.	Gunston, Capt. D. W.	6,376	12,500	10,383 (36,672)	
Hampshire, Aldershot	U.	Wolmer, Viscount	4,318	14,081	— (26,956)	
Basingstoke	U.	Holbrook, Sir A.	2,172	15,558	9,429 (34,666)	
Fareham	U.	Davidson, Sir J.	6,304	19,108	— (36,953)	
New Forest and Christchurch	U.	Ashley, Lt.-Col. W.	3,137	17,945	6,681 (38,905)	
Petersfield	U.	Nicholson, Col. W. G.	2,582	14,646	3,755 (31,627)	
Winchester	U.	Hennessey, G. R. J.	8,216	15,026	3,012 (36,583)	

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Constituency.	Party.	Sitting Member.	Number of Votes Cast.			
			Lab.	Union- ist.	Lib.	Total Electrte.
Hereford, Hereford . . .	U.	Roberts, S. . . . .	—	13,210	8,604 (29,159)	
Leominster . . . . .	U.	Shepperson, E. W. .	—	12,470	6,897 (27,051)	
Hertford, Hemel Hempstead . . .	U.	Davidson, J. C. C. .	1,553	12,985	7,994 (28,106)	
Hertford . . . . .	U.	Sueter, Rear-Adm. M. F. .	3,885	14,532	5,828 (34,315)	
Hitchin . . . . .	U.	Kindersley, G. M. .	5,773	14,619	3,881 (34,285)	
St. Albans . . . . .	U.	Fremantle, Lt.-Col. F. E. .	8,682	18,004	— (37,083)	
Watford . . . . .	U.	Herbert, D. . . . .	7,417	15,271	5,205 (38,169)	
Holland-with-Boston . . .	U.	Dean, A. W. . . . .	10,689	15,459	6,413 (43,128)	
Huntingdon . . . . .	U.	Murchison, C. K. .	—	12,827	9,793 (28,957)	
Isle of Elv . . . . .	U.	Lucas-Tooth, Sir H. .	4,235	13,344	11,381 (38,281)	
Isle of Wight . . . . .	U.	Macdonald, P. D. .	3,620	10,346	13,944 (46,052)	
Kent, Ashford . . . . .	U.	Steel, S. S. .	4,473	15,159	5,487 (35,659)	
Canterbury . . . . .	U.	McNeill, R. . . . .	—	16,093	7,601 (30,045)	
Chishurst . . . . .	U.	Smythies, W. . . . .	3,757	14,440	3,647 (30,029)	
Dartford . . . . .	U.	McDonnell, Col. A. .	19,352	20,108	— (49,804)	
Dover . . . . .	U.	Astor, J. J. . . . .	7,627	21,186	— (38,850)	
Faversham . . . . .	U.	Wheler, G. . . . .	9,180	14,432	7,132 (21,850)	
Gravesend . . . . .	U.	Alberv, I. J. . . . .	10,969	15,410	— (33,740)	
Isle of Thanet . . . . .	U.	Harnsworth, E. . . . .	4,202	21,130	6,779 (41,395)	
Maidstone . . . . .	U.	Bellairs, Com. C. .	8,192	16,121	— (31,811)	
Sevenoaks . . . . .	U.	Styles, H. W. . . . .	—	15,125	9,311 (32,660)	
Tonbridge . . . . .	U.	Spender-Clay, Col. H. .	6,564	17,392	5,898 (40,198)	
Kesteven and Rutland, Grantham . . .	U.	Warrender, Sir V. .	7,279	14,746	7,730 (37,021)	
Rutland & Stamford . . .	U.	Smith-Carington, N. W. .	6,633	13,286	— (27,869)	
Lancashire, Chorley . . .	U.	Hacking, D. H. . . . .	13,074	17,844	— (37,369)	
Clitheroe . . . . .	U.	Brass, Capt. W. . . . .	14,041	16,037	— (34,123)	
Darwen . . . . .	U.	Sanderson, Sir F. .	5,188	13,017	12,083 (32,078)	
Farnworth . . . . .	Lab.	Greenall, T. . . . .	15,327	12,521	4,467 (35,055)	
Fylde . . . . .	U.	Stanley, Lord . . . . .	—	—	— (10,977)	
Heywood & Radcliffe . . .	Const.	England, Lt Col. A. .	1,307	19,131	— (44,537)	
Ince . . . . .	Lab.	Welsh, S. . . . .	18,272	7,920	— (33,242)	
Lancaster . . . . .	U.	Strickland, Sir G. .	5,572	15,243	11,685 (38,459)	
Lonsdale . . . . .	U.	Bainbridge, Lord . . . . .	—	13,460	10,002 (28,171)	
Middleton and Prestwich . . .	U.	Sandeman, A. S. . . . .	8,442	16,005	6,763 (33,172)	
Mossley . . . . .	Ind.	Hopkinson, A. . . . .	10,707	—	15,435 (Ind.)	
Newton . . . . .	Lab.	Young, R. . . . .	12,875	10,066	5,152 (41,683)	
Ormskirk . . . . .	U.	Blundell, F. N. . . . .	10,402	13,392	— (31,372)	
Royston . . . . .	U.	Davies, A. V. . . . .	6,156	13,859	11,433 (30,449)	
Stretford . . . . .	Const.	Robinson, Sir T. .	11,520	20,926	— (41,553)	
Waterloo . . . . .	U.	Bullock, M. . . . .	6,116	15,704	— (29,083)	
Westhoughton . . . . .	Lab.	Davies, R. J. . . . .	16,633	12,684	— (32,589)	
Widnes . . . . .	U.	Clayton, G. C. . . . .	13,326	15,476	— (31,552)	
Leicester, Bosworth . . .	U.	Gee, R., V. C. . . . .	9,143	10,114	9,756 (35,925)	
Harborough . . . . .	U.	Winby, Lt.-Col. L. P. .	6,032	13,024	5,726 (30,605)	
Loughborough . . . . .	U.	Rye, F. G. . . . .	9,751	11,114	7,040 (33,323)	
Melton . . . . .	U.	Everard, W. L. . . . .	—	17,090	11,934 (34,412)	
Lindsey, Brigg . . . . .	U.	Sheffield, Sir B. . . . .	11,669	15,125	— (33,124)	
Gainsborough . . . . .	U.	Crookshank, H. F. C. .	5,958	10,281	5,500 (27,619)	
Horncastle . . . . .	U.	Haslam, H. C. . . . .	—	10,912	9,743 (25,286)	
Lough . . . . .	U.	Heneage, Lt.-Col. A. P. .	—	—	11,330 (29,660)	
Middlesex, Acton . . . . .	U.	Brittain, Sir A. . . . .	5,583	12,799	3,074 (31,999)	
Brentford and Chiswick . . .	U.	Morden, Col. W. G. .	6,114	12,098	2,540 (28,606)	
Enfield . . . . .	U.	Appleton, Col. R. V. K. .	11,807	13,886	— (31,397)	
Finchley . . . . .	U.	Cadogan, E. . . . .	—	15,277	10,942 (32,084)	
Harrow . . . . .	U.	Salmon, I. . . . .	9,507	16,526	4,320 (38,044)	

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Constituency	Party	Sitting Member	Number of Votes Cast			
			Lab.	Union- ist	Lib. Elec'te.	Total
Hendon.....	U.	Cunliffe-Lister, Sir P.	5,267	19,183	5,618 (10,163)	
Selborne.....	U.	Polditch, Sir P.	7,792	17,650	— (10,468)	
Twickenham.....	U.	Joynson-Hicks, Sir W.	7,945	18,889	— (38,354)	
Uxbridge.....	U.	Burney, Com C. D.	8,459	13,523	3,976 (36,144)	
Wood Green.....	U.	Lockyer-Lampson, G.	8,648	21,725	7,158 (49,196)	
Norfolk, Eastern.....	U.	Neville, R. J.....	4,907	11,283	9,114 (33,470)	
King's Lynn.....	U.	Fernoy, Lord.....	7,280	11,710	9,184 (36,230)	
Northern.....	Lab.	Buxton, N. E.....	11,978	9,974	2,637 (31,913)	
Southern.....	U.	Christie, J. A.....	11,376	14,180	— (33,466)	
South-Western.....	U.	McLean, A.....	10,004	13,838	— (33,132)	
Northampton, Daventry.....	U.	Fitzroy, E. A.....	—	12,683	12,483 (31,571)	
Kettering.....	U.	Manningham-Buller, Sir M.....	14,801	16,042	— (36,572)	
Peterborough.....	U.	Brassey, Sir L.....	9,108	14,795	4,786 (36,461)	
Wellington.....	Lab.	Cove, W. G.....	11,381	8,900	8,223 (33,933)	
Northumberland, Berwick- on-Tweed.....	U.	Philipson, Mrs. H.....	3,521	12,130	8,165 (30,661)	
Hexham.....	U.	Brown, D. C.....	5,089	10,741	6,551 (27,237)	
Wansbeck.....	Lab.	Warne, G. H.....	21,159	18,875	— (50,446)	
Nottingham, Bassettaw.....	U.	Hume-Williams, Sir E., K.C.....	11,283	12,732	3,505 (34,163)	
Broxtowe.....	Lab.	Spencer, G. A.....	15,276	—	12,313 (40,506)	
Mansfield.....	Lib.	Varley, F. B.....	19,441	13,535	— (44,139)	
Newark.....	U.	Titchfield, Marquess of.....	5,076	14,129	4,124 (32,079)	
Rushcliffe.....	U.	Betterton, H. B.....	9,548	17,733	— (39,543)	
Oxford, Banbury.....	U.	Edmondson, A. J.....	4,733	15,053	8,825 (36,997)	
Henley.....	U.	Henderson, R. R.....	—	14,830	8,060 (32,622)	
Shropshire, Ludlow.....	U.	Winstor-Clive, Lt. Col. G.....	—	—	— (25,510)	
Oswestry.....	U.	Bridgeman, W. C.....	5,503	14,316	6,143 (32,913)	
Shrewsbury.....	U.	Sandon, Lord.....	1,014	13,220	8,945 (27,400)	
The Wrekin.....	U.	Oakley, T.....	11,123	14,063	— (33,868)	
Somerset, Bridgwater.....	U.	Wood, B. C.....	1,906	14,283	10,842 (32,111)	
Froome.....	U.	Peto, G. K.....	14,652	16,397	— (37,438)	
Taunton.....	U.	Gault, Col. A. H.....	2,441	13,930	10,381 (31,235)	
Wells.....	U.	Sinders, Sir R. A.....	2,762	12,642	8,668 (29,249)	
Weston-super-Mare.....	U.	Erskine, Lord.....	1,343	17,987	12,305 (30,557)	
Yeovil.....	U.	Davies, G. F.....	6,179	14,477	9,320 (35,872)	
Stafford, Burton.....	U.	Gretton, Col. J.....	7,141	20,550	— (35,599)	
Cannock.....	Lab.	Adamson, W. M.....	16,347	15,166	— (42,473)	
Kingswinford.....	Lab.	Sitch, C. H.....	17,235	16,208	— (40,600)	
Leek.....	Lab.	Bromfield, W.....	14,250	13,305	— (34,686)	
Lichfield.....	U.	Wilson, R. R.....	12,512	14,588	— (33,751)	
Stafford.....	U.	Ormsby-Gore, W. G. A.....	7,571	12,404	— (25,146)	
Stone.....	U.	Lamb, J. Q.....	4,245	12,850	5,351 (29,994)	
Suffolk East, Eye.....	U.	Huntingfield, Lord.....	4,329	13,450	7,441 (33,841)	
Lowestoft.....	U.	Rentoul, G. S.....	6,570	13,422	6,532 (36,321)	
Woodbridge.....	U.	Churchman, Sir A.....	3,998	13,419	7,008 (32,869)	
Suffolk West, Bury St. Edmunds.....	U.	Guinness, Lt.-Col. W. E.....	—	16,073	9,392 (31,756)	
Sudbury.....	U.	Burton, Col. H. W.....	—	10,579	9,168 (26,604)	
Surrey, Chertsey.....	U.	Richardson, Sir P.....	—	18,310	7,471 (41,194)	
Easterr.....	U.	Galloway, J. F. W. K.C.....	3,249	15,099	— (27,223)	
Epsom.....	U.	Blades, Sir R.....	5,149	20,017	— (37,515)	
Farnham.....	U.	Samuel, A. M.....	4,613	18,272	— (36,255)	
Guildford.....	U.	Buckingham, Sir H.....	6,227	18,273	4,842 (41,164)	
Mitcheim.....	U.	Meller, R. J.....	9,776	15,994	— (34,435)	
Reigate.....	U.	Cockerill, Brig.-Gen. G. K.....	6,061	19,877	— (35,070)	

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Constituency	Party	Sitting Member	Number of Votes Cast		
			Lab.	Union- ist	Lib. Total Electr.
Sussex East, Eastbourne	U.	Lloyd, Sir G. ....	4,138	17,533	4,168 (33,318)
East Grinstead ....	U.	Cautley, Sir H., K.C. ....	4,479	18,305	5,064 (40,500)
Lewes ....	U.	Beamish, T. P. H. ....	5,043	13,399	— (28,517)
Rye ....	U.	Courthorpe, Lt.-Col. G. L. ....	—	14,871	7,289 (31,103)
Sussex West, Chichester	U.	Courtauld, J. S. ....	1,765	20,710	12,416 (47,804)
Horsham & Worth ng	U.	Winterton, Earl ....	7,537	23,715	— (47,559)
Warwick, Nuneaton ....	U.	Hope, A. O. J. ....	12,679	15,242	12,550 (51,414)
Rugby ....	U.	Margesson, D. ....	3,768	14,434	10,524 (33,709)
Tamworth ....	U.	Ilfie, Sir E. ....	—	—	(38,841)
Warwick & Leamington ....	U.	Eden, R. A. ....	—	19,575	12,966 (44,191)
Westmorland ....	U.	Stanley, O. F. G. ....	7,242	17,935	— (31,517)
Wiltshire, Chippenham ....	U.	Cazalet, V. A. ....	—	13,227	11,015 (29,135)
Devizes ....	U.	Hurd, P. A. ....	—	12,157	7,807 (26,195)
Salisbury ....	U.	Morrison, H. ....	2,071	14,475	9,138 (31,393)
Swindon ....	U.	Banks, R. M., K.C. ....	12,698	15,602	— (34,938)
Westbury ....	U.	Shaw, W. W. ....	4,731	11,559	9,848 (30,784)
Worcester, Bewdley ....	U.	Baldwin, S. ....	—	—	(27,502)
Evesham ....	U.	Eyres-Monsell, B. M. ....	3,454	13,176	3,473 (30,270)
Kidderminster ....	U.	Milne, J. S. W. ....	6,792	18,040	5,067 (42,778)
Stourbridge ....	U.	Pielou, D. P. ....	14,113	16,023	10,418 (48,466)
Yorkshire, East Riding:	U.	Gaunt, Sir G. ....	—	13,966	10,062 (30,074)
Buckrose ....	U.	Savery, S. S. ....	—	12,911	10,162 (28,449)
Holderness ....	U.	Jackson, Col. F. S. ....	—	—	(25,815)
Yorkshire, North Riding	U.	Goff, Sir P. ....	11,153	16,578	10,260 (44,040)
Cleveland ....	U.	Wilson, Lt.-Col. M. J. ....	—	—	(31,804)
Richmond ....	U.	—	—	—	—
Scarborough and Whitby ....	U.	Herbert, S. ....	2,713	18,911	11,223 (41,640)
Thirsk & Malton ....	U.	Turton, E. R. ....	—	13,564	7,072 (28,855)
U.	Lane-Fox, Lt.-Col. G. R. ....	11,894	16,817	— (35,792)	
Colne Valley ....	Lab.	Snowden, P. ....	14,215	10,972	7,651 (41,704)
Doncaster ....	Lab.	Paling, W. ....	16,496	14,800	— (40,633)
Don Valley ....	Lab.	Williams, T. ....	14,598	12,463	— (37,184)
Elland ....	Lab.	Robinson, W. C. ....	11,690	11,202	6,713 (35,214)
Hemsworth ....	Lab.	Guest, J. ....	15,593	6,902	— (32,257)
Keighley ....	Lab.	Smith, H. B. L. ....	14,105	8,922	8,339 (37,887)
Normanton ....	Lab.	Hall, F. ....	—	—	(32,759)
Penistone ....	Lab.	Smith, R. ....	10,997	9,718	7,799 (35,358)
Pontefract ....	U.	Brooke, Brig.-Gen. C. R. I. ....	13,044	13,745	— (35,148)
Pudsey & Otley ....	U.	Watson, Sir F. ....	7,001	14,090	6,545 (34,334)
Ripon ....	U.	Wood, Rt. Hon. E. F. L. ....	—	—	— (36,393)
Rother Valley ....	Lab.	Grundy, T. W. ....	18,750	9,985	— (37,860)
Rothwell ....	Lab.	Lunn, W. ....	16,540	—	10,240 (38,635)
Shipley ....	Lab.	Mackinder, W. ....	11,862	11,266	9,800 (38,120)
Skipton ....	U.	Bird, E. R. ....	8,626	14,924	8,947 (38,790)
Sowerby ....	U.	Shaw, G. R. D. ....	8,881	11,181	9,480 (35,500)
Spen Valley ....	L.	Simon, Sir J., K.C. ....	13,999	—	18,474 (40,978)
Wentworth ....	Lab.	Hirst, G. H. ....	—	—	— (43,837)
<b>WELSH COUNTIES.</b>					
Anglesey ....	L.	Thomas, Sir R. ....	7,580	—	13,407 (28,443)
Brecon & Radnor ....	U.	Hall, W. D. ....	10,167	12,834	10,374 (39,913)
Cardigan ....	L.	Morris, R. H. ....	—	—	— (33,243)
Carmarthen, Carmarthen Llanelli ....	L.	Mond, Sir A. ....	7,953	—	17,281 (37,155)
Carnarvon ....	Lab.	Williams, J. H. ....	20,516	—	18,257 (51,213)
Denbigh, Denbigh Wrexham ....	L.	Owen, G. ....	14,564	—	15,033 (38,647)
Flint ....	L.	Davies, E. W. ....	—	11,250	12,071 (32,979)
	L.	Williams, C. P. ....	15,291	—	19,154 (41,084)
	U.	Roberts, E. H. G. ....	7,821	19,054	14,169 (51,205)

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Constituency	Party	Sitting Member	Lab.	Union- ist	Number of Votes Cast	Lib.	Total Electe.
Glamorgan, Aberavon .	Lab.	MacDonald, J. R. .	17,724	—	15,624 (37,200)	—	
Caerphilly.....	Lab.	Jones, Morgan .....	17,723	12,293	—	(37,868)	
Gower .....	Lab.	Grenfell, D. R. .	15,374	11,516	—	(35,631)	
Llannaff & Barry.....	U.	Cope, Maj. W. .	11,609	15,801	6,389 (42,166)	—	
Neath .....	Lab.	Jenkins, W. .	—	—	—	(46,996)	
Ogmore.....	Lab.	Hartshorn, V. .	—	—	—	(40,801)	
Pontypridd .....	Lab.	Jones, T. I. M. .	18,301	14,425	—	(41,099)	
Merioneth .....	L.	Jones, H. H. .	3,077	6,393	9,228 (23,013)	—	
Monmouth, Abertillery .....	Lab.	Barker, G. .	—	—	—	(34,046)	
Bedwellyt.....	Lab.	Edwards, C. .	—	—	—	(35,999)	
Ebbw Vale .....	Lab.	Davies, Evan .	—	—	—	(33,662)	
Monmouth .....	U	Forestier-Walker, C. L. .	6,469	16,510	—	(31,031)	
Pontypool .....	Lab.	Griffiths, T. .	15,378	13,831	—	(34,587)	
Montgomery .....	L.	Davies David .	4,383	—	14,042 (24,338)	—	
Pembroke .....	U.	Price, Maj. C. W. M.	8,445	14,573	13,043 (44,980)	—	
<b>SCOTTISH COUNTIES.</b>							
Aberdeen & Kincardine, Central .....	U.	Smith, R. W. .	3,701	9,130	7,639 (28,658)	—	
East .....	U.	Boothby, R. J. G. .	3,899	7,363	4,680 (27,026)	—	
Kincardine & West .....	U.	Barclay-Harvey, C.M. .	—	8,260	6,889 (22,502)	—	
Argyllshire .....	U.	Macquisten, F. A. .	4,532	9,240	6,211 (31,887)	—	
Ayr & Bute, Bute & Northern .....	U.	Hunter-Weston, Sir A. G. .	10,075	16,203	—	(40,076)	
Kilmarnock .....	U.	MacAndrew, C. G. .	13,054	14,237	—	(34,315)	
South Ayrshire .....	Lab.	Brown, J. .	11,131	11,136	—	(30,228)	
Banffshire .....	U.	Templeton, W. P. .	3,722	6,829	5,426 (28,865)	—	
Berwick & Haddington .....	U.	Crookshank, Lt.-Col. C. de W. .	8,882	11,745	4,986 (34,017)	—	
Caithness & Sutherland .....	L.	Sinclair, Sir A. .	—	—	—	(23,050)	
Dumbartonshire .....	U.	Fleming, D. P., K.C. .	12,872	16,223	—	(34,675)	
Dumfriesshire .....	U.	Charteris, Brig.-Gen. J. .	6,342	12,718	8,472 (34,073)	—	
Fifeshire, Eastern .....	U.	Cochrane, Com. Hon A. D. .	—	12,664	11,242 (34,490)	—	
West .....	Lab.	Adamson, W. .	14,685	6,015	—	(33,008)	
Forfar .....	U.	Hope, Sir H. .	3,736	8,022	4,581 (23,916)	—	
Galloway .....	U.	Henniker-Hughan, Sir A. J. .	—	12,268	10,851 (29,940)	—	
Inverness, Ross ;							
Cromarty .....	L.	Macdonald, Sir M. .	6,863	—	11,468 (33,875)	—	
Ross & Cromarty .....	L.	Macpherson, J. I. .	—	—	—	(24,558)	
Western Isles .....	L.	Livingstone, A. M. .	1,454	2,418	4,579 (21,160)	—	
Lanark, Bothwell,	Lab.	Robertson, J. .	14,591	11,314	—	(32,665)	
Coatbridge .....	Lab.	Welsh, J. C. .	12,782	12,725	—	(30,263)	
Hamilton .....	Lab.	Graham, D. M. .	13,003	8,372	—	(27,927)	
Lanark .....	U.	Mitchell, S. .	11,426	12,714	2,126 (31,142)	—	
Motherwell .....	Lab.	Barr, Rev. J. .	12,816	11,776	—	(29,870)	
Northern .....	U.	Sprot, Sir A. .	11,852	13,884	—	(32,196)	
Rutherglen .....	Lab.	Wright, W. .	13,796	12,707	—	(33,078)	
Linlithgow .....	U.	Kidd, J. .	14,123	14,765	—	(36,112)	
Midlothian & Peebles							
Northern .....	U.	Hutchison, G. A. C. .	9,173	11,320	—	(25,880)	
Peebles & Southern .....	Lab.	Westwood, J. .	7,797	6,723	4,550 (24,210)	—	
Moray & Nairn .....	U.	Stuart, J. G. .	6,005	9,762	—	(23,717)	
Orkney & Shetland .....	L.	Hamilton, Sir R. .	—	—	—	(26,161)	
Perth & Kinross :							
Kinross & Western .....	U.	Atholl, Duchess of .	5,286	13,565	—	(25,814)	
Perth .....	U.	Skelton, A. N. .	5,116	13,022	7,098 (34,872)	—	
Renfrew, Eastern.....	U.	MacRobert, A. M. .	10,003	13,716	—	(29,493)	
Western .....	U.	Shaw, Lt.-Col. A. D. .	—	—	—		
Roxburgh & Selkirk .....	U.	McInnes, E. .	11,252	13,267	—	(36,233)	
		Dalkeith, Earl of .	7,266	12,684	7,737 (34,504)	—	

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Constituency	Party	Sitting Member	Lab.	Union- ist	Number of Votes Cast	Lib.	Total Elecrt.
Stirling & Clackmannan							
Clackmannan & Eastern .....	Lab.	Weir, L. MacN. ....	13,032	—	11,752 (33,176)		
<b>NORTHERN IRELAND.</b>							
Belfast, East .....	U.	Dixon, H. ....	—	—	— (44,209)		
North .....	U.	McConnell, T. E. ....	—	34,182	1,192 (46,902) (Rep.)		
South .....	U.	Moles, T. ....	—	—	— (43,535)		
West .....	U.	Lynn, Sir R. J. ....	—	28,435	21,122 (66,010) (Ind.) 2,688 (Rep.)		
Antrim (2) .....	U.	Craig, C. C. ....	—	60,868	2,514 (98,616) (Rep.)		
Armagh .....	U.	O'Niell, R. W. H. ....	—	60,764			
Down (2) .....	U.	Allen, Sir W. ....	—	29,021	11,756 (54,376) (Rep.)		
Fermanagh & Tyrone (2)	U.	Reid, D. D. ....	—	53,929			
	U.	Sinns, Rev. D. J. M. ....	—	58,777	8,941 (96,285) (R.)		
Londonderry .....	U.	Falls, Sir C. ....	—	44,716	6,812 (97,046) (R.)		
	U.	Pringle, J. A., K.C. ....	—	44,711	6,685 (R.)		
	U.	Macnaghten, Sir M. ....	—	30,875	5,869 (R.)		
				517	(Ind. U.) (63,093)		
<b>UNIVERSITIES.</b>							
University of Wales .....	L.	Evans, E. ....	721	—	1,057 (2,252)		
Queen's, Belfast .....	U.	Sinclair, Col. T. ....	—	—	— (2,924)		
Cambridge (2) .....	U.	Rawlinson, Rt. Hon. J. F. P. ....	—	4,569	3,241 (Ind.)		
Combined English Universities (2) .....	U.	Butler, Sir G. ....	—	4,026	— (16,621)		
	U.	Conway, Sir W. M. Fisher, Rt. Hon. H. A. L. ....	885	2,231	— (5,655)		
London .....	Ind.	Little, Dr. G. ....	1,687	2,064 2,813	3,202 (Ind.) 1,539 (11,997)		
Oxford (2) .....	U.	Cecil, Rt. Hon. Lord H. ....	—	4,320			
	U.	Oman, Sir C. W. C. ....	—	2,968	2,832 (11,339) (Ind.)		
Scottish Universities (3)	U.	Berry, Sir G. A. ....	—	6,529	— (31,977)		
	L.	Cowan, D. M. ....	1,674	—	5,011		
	U.	Craik, Rt. Hon. Sir H. ....	—	4,405	—		
<b>BY-ELECTIONS.</b>							
Dec. 22, 1924. Dundee ..	Lab.	Johnston, T. ....	22,973	—	10,234 (78,297)		
Feb. 27, 1925. Walsall ..	U.	Preston, W. ....	11,010	14,793	12,300 (46,401)		

## HOUSING

**B**ROADLY speaking, the housing situation in 1924 may be summarised as follows:—

1. There is an acute shortage of houses, both in town and country, in all parts of Great Britain. The minimum shortage is estimated at 1,000,000 houses, but 1,500,000 is considered by many to be nearer the mark. Further, 100,000 houses are required a year to keep up the ordinary annual demands due to increase in population and wearing out of houses.

2. Large numbers of houses still used are unfit for occupation, though in some cases substantial repairs would make them reasonably fit.

3. Over large areas in towns the crowding of houses and their dilapidation render them unhealthy. Entire reconstruction is necessary in such cases.

4. There is a general lack of town planning.

### The Facts.

Though the war was no doubt responsible for the extreme housing shortage to-day, the problem of bad and inadequate housing was acute before 1914. In 1913, for instance, the Lloyd George Land Enquiry Committee estimated the shortage of rural cottages at 120,000 and declared that between five and ten per cent. of the whole population were living in slums.

In 1919, the Ministry of Health estimated by returns from the local authorities the total housing shortage to be 870,000 in England and Wales, and 130,000 in Scotland. At least 100,000 per annum must be added to these figures to gain a true estimate of the shortage since 1919.

On the other hand, the number of working-class and small middle-class houses built since the beginning of 1919, or in actual

## SOCIALIST ANNUAL, 1925

course of construction on 3rd December, 1924, is approximately as follows :—

	England & Wales	Scotland
Houses built by local authorities and Public Utility Societies under the Addison Act, 1919	... 175,000	27,000
Houses built under the Housing (Additional Powers) Act, 1919 (i.e., with £260 subsidy)	... 39,000	2,000
Houses completed or under construction under the Chamberlain Act, 1923 (this includes houses built by local authorities, Public Utility Societies, &c.)*	<u>76,800</u>	<u>5,600</u>
	290,800	34,600
Total for Great Britain ... ... ... ...	325,400	

\*Some of those under construction are under the Wheatley Act.

The shortage of houses, therefore, in Great Britain is at least 1,175,000 at the end of 1924.

### HOUSING ADMINISTRATION, 1918-1923.

#### Coalition Government.

Dr. Addison's Housing and Town Planning Act (1919) made it the duty of the local authorities to provide for the housing needs of their districts. Any loss incurred upon the municipal housing schemes was to be borne by the local authorities up to an amount each year which would be yielded by the levying of a 1d. rate in the £. The balance of the annual loss would be borne by the State. The rents of the houses were fixed by agreement between the Ministry of Health and the local authority or, failing agreement, by an independent Rents Tribunal.

Contrary to expectation, the cost of building increased rapidly after the war. Houses which before the war cost from £170 to £250 cost, say, £500 at the conclusion of the war, about £700 in 1919, and in many cases well over £1,000 in 1920. Further, a higher rate of interest had to be paid on this increased cost. Instead of paying 3½ per cent. on, say, £200, the local authority had to pay 6 per cent. on £1,000—the actual interest, instead of being £7 per annum, was £60. An increased allowance for repairs was also necessary. The loss per house was consequently in many cases as much as from £50 to £80 per annum.

In 1921, the specific pledges given in the Coalition election programme were torn up: the Government went back on its housing policy. Dr. Addison resigned and Sir Alfred Mond took his place.

One of the most tragic results of the shutting down of the housing programme by the Coalition Government during 1922 was that the available supply of labour, which had been gradually mobilised on the housing schemes, was dispersed. This produced unemployment in the building trade, led to the emigration of a number of skilled workers, and to the transference of many men to other building work and other trades in this country. It also produced a feeling of insecurity in regard to a continuous housing programme in the minds of the building trade operatives and rendered far more difficult the subsequent efforts to re-establish security. Whereas, in the summer of 1921, there were 80,000 skilled and over 60,000 unskilled men employed on housing schemes, by the end of 1922 there were less than 20,000 of each category.

### **Conservative Government.**

Early in 1922 it became clear that the Government would not continue the policy of the Act of 1919 with the unlimited State liability, but that the policy of co-operation between the Government and local authorities had to be continued. When the Conservative Government took office it became evident that the touchstone of its policy would be the encouragement of private enterprise.

Mr. Neville Chamberlain, as Minister of Health, secured the passage into law of the 1923 Housing Act. This Act laid down that a subsidy of £6 per house per year for twenty years would be paid to the local authority in respect of every qualified house it erected, or arranged to be erected, by private enterprise.

In order that the house might qualify for the subsidy it had to be within the following dimensions within walls.

(a) In the case of a two-storied house, a minimum of 620 and a maximum of 950 superficial feet within walls (i.e., the two floors together).

(b) In the case of a self-contained flat or one-storied house, a minimum of 550 and a maximum of 880 superficial feet.

In order to qualify for the subsidy the house had not merely to be within the prescribed limits, but the local authority had to show that such houses could not be erected without financial assistance.

Up to September 1st, 1924, under the Chamberlain Act, about 8566 houses had been built by local authorities and 17,781 by private enterprise with subsidies granted by the State through local authorities. The numbers under construction at that date were 16,928 and 33,596 respectively. Nearly all the houses built by private enterprise have been for sale at prices ranging from £500 to £800 and have been purchased mostly by others than the weekly wage earner.

### LABOUR GOVERNMENT.

Mr. Wheatley, on assuming the office of Minister of Health in the Labour Government, found that in four respects the previous Housing Acts had failed to deal adequately with housing needs of that section of the population that felt the housing shortage most.

1. The building programme was not sufficiently rapid.
  2. The houses built by local authorities to rent were let at rents in excess of what the majority of the workers could afford to pay.
  3. The placing of the agricultural districts on the same basis as urban areas resulted in no provision of houses for the agricultural workers being made.
  4. The houses built with subsidies by private enterprise were almost entirely built at prices which the workers could not afford to pay.
1. The 1924 Wheatley Act therefore provides for a continuous building programme over a period of fifteen years, power being given to discontinue the scheme if in any third year it is found that the number of houses built during the preceding two years does not come up to two-thirds of the figures in the schedule of the Act. The only other condition on which the building scheme can be stopped is if the Minister is satisfied, after independent inquiry, that the cost of houses has become excessive.
2. The annual subsidy to be paid to local authorities, and through them to private enterprise, is increased from £6 a year

## SOCIALIST ANNUAL, 1925

for twenty years to £9 a year for forty years, under the following conditions :—

- (a) That the house shall be let for the occupation of tenants who intend to reside in them and not sold, except with the special permission of the Minister. If the house is sold without such consent, the annual subsidy ceases to be paid. (In this way the Wheatley Act encourages the building of houses to let, for which there is the main demand among workers).
- (b) That the tenant shall not assign or sub-let the house or any part thereof without the consent of the Local Authority.
- (c) That the house shall not be disposed of by the Local Authority except with the Minister's consent.
- (d) That a fair-wages clause is inserted in all contracts for the erection of houses.
- (e) That the rent charged for a house shall not exceed the appropriate normal rent charged in respect of pre-war houses, except where the loss on the house will amount to more than £4 10s. per annum during the forty years, and then only to the extent of such excess loss, and no fine or premium shall be exacted.
- (f) That reasonable preference be given to large families in letting the houses.

**3. Agricultural Parishes.** In the cases of houses constructed in an agricultural parish, where the above conditions have been satisfied, the Wheatley Act provides that the subsidy from the State can be increased from £6 to £12 10s. per annum. An agricultural parish is defined as one where :—

- (a) The net annual value of the agricultural land in the parish in which the house is situated, as shown in the county rate basis then in force, exceeds 25 per cent. of the total net annual value of that parish as shown in the same basis (the value of all property in the occupation of the Crown being taken into account); and,
- (b) The population of the parish, according to the last published census returns of the Registrar General, is less than 50 persons per hundred acres.

**4. Continuance of the Chamberlain Act.** Those provisions of the Chamberlain Act which were temporary in character, are continued for fifteen years under the Wheatley Act. Where, therefore, a local authority or private enterprise does not wish to be restricted by the special conditions of the Wheatley Act, it can proceed under the Chamberlain Act.

**General Conditions.**

1. Section five of the Act enables the Minister to reduce the subsidy in regard to future houses to be built after every third year, if the circumstances justify it.
2. Section seven lays down that account be taken of any town planning scheme. The density of houses, except with the consent of the Minister, should not exceed eight per acre in an agricultural parish and twelve per acre elsewhere.
3. Section nine enables the Minister to pay the subsidy direct to private enterprise in the district in cases where local authorities have failed to take the necessary steps.

**Number of Houses.**

The building industry is prepared to augment its resources to provide the following houses for the next fifteen years :—

1925	...	...	90,000
1926	...	...	100,000
1927	...	...	110,000
1928	...	...	120,000
1929	...	...	135,000
1930	...	...	150,000
1931	...	...	170,000
1932	...	...	190,000
1933	...	...	210,000
1934-1939	...	...	225,000 each year

**FINANCIAL EFFECTS OF THE WHEATLEY SCHEME.**

A memorandum explaining the Financial Resolution which passed before the introduction of the Wheatley Bill explained that :—

The charge on the Exchequer consequent on these proposals will depend on the extent to which the full programme is carried out and a variation of the amount of contribution made from time to time. On the assumptions :—

- (a) That the full programme of 2,500,000 houses is carried out;
- (b) That  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the houses are built in agricultural parishes, and
- (c) That the full increased Exchequer contribution is payable in all cases.

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It is estimated that the maximum charge on the Exchequer contribution will be as follows:—

Year	Exchequer Charge £	Charge on Local Rates £
1924-25	278,000	135,000
1925-26	1,072,000	521,000
1926-27	1,905,000	925,000
1927-28	2,823,000	1,371,000
1928-29	3,827,000	1,859,000
1929-30	4,946,000	2,403,000
1930-31	6,195,000	3,010,000
1931-32	7,601,000	3,693,000
1932-33	9,180,000	4,460,000
1933-34	10,930,000	5,310,000
1934-35	12,824,000	6,231,000
1935-36	14,761,000	7,172,000
1936-37	16,609,000	8,113,000
1937-38	18,636,000	9,054,000
1938-39	20,573,000	9,995,000
1939-40	22,511,000	10,936,000
1940-41 to 1963-64	23,156,000*	11,250,000*
1964-65	22,878,000	11,115,000
1965-66	22,084,000	10,729,000
1966-67	21,251,000	10,325,000
1967-68	20,333,000	9,879,000
1968-69	19,329,000	9,391,000
1969-70	18,210,000	8,847,000
1970-71	16,961,000	8,240,000
1971-72	15,555,000	7,557,000
1972-73	13,976,000	6,790,000
1973-74	12,226,000	5,940,000
1974-75	10,332,000	5,019,000
1975-76	8,395,000	4,078,000
1976-77	6,457,000	3,137,000
1977-78	4,520,000	2,106,000
1978-79	2,583,000	1,255,000
1979-80	645,000	314,000

\*Per annum.

## BUILDING TRADE LABOUR.

Before the War there was, on the average, more unemployment in the building trade than in any other industry. This was due partly to the fact that building was conducted in a succession of booms and slumps and partly because the building trade, more than almost any other, is liable to be affected by weather.

During the War little building was done; practically no lads were apprenticed, and many of those already in the trade transferred to other industries. During 1919, 1920 and the early part

## SOCIALIST ANNUAL, 1925

of 1921, there was a considerable shortage of labour in certain branches and the Government made efforts to increase the supply of labour. The Government, however, refused to give any guarantee that the building programme would be continuous, or that the result of augmenting the labour supply would not be to produce a large amount of unemployment in the near future. This naturally caused the building operatives to refuse dilution or a scheme of intensive training, though a limited number of ex-service men were admitted for training.

The action of the Coalition Government justified the operatives in their action. The dropping of the Addison Housing Scheme had the effect of reducing employment of skilled and unskilled from over 140,000 in 1921, to less than 130,000 in 1922. Over 100,000 building trade operatives were out of work and many of the skilled men emigrated and comparatively few lads entered the trade.

When Mr. Wheatley became Minister of Health he appointed a committee to enquire into the supply of building trade labour. This committee gave the following figures with regard to the total supply of skilled labour available on various dates:—

			Dec.	Oct.	Jan.
			1923.	1921.	1924.
Carpenters	...	...	126,780	132,260	125,010
Bricklayers	...	...	68,020	62,170	57,170
Masons	...	...	38,810	22,880	22,270
Slaters	...	...	6,650	5,370	5,210
Plasterers	...	...	20,180	17,020	16,070
Painters	...	...	120,860	115,000	106,860
Plumbers	...	...	36,860	35,840	34,440
<b>Totals</b>			<b>420,120</b>	<b>392,500</b>	<b>367,030</b>

These figures deal with craftsmen, as no question of shortage arises as to the supply of labourers. The committee state that the main shortage exists among bricklayers, masons and plasterers, and that only a proportion of the building trade is engaged upon small house building and that large numbers of men are employed on other classes of work, such as factories, shops, large houses, repairs, etc.

According to the committee 60,000 of the existing craftsmen will require to be transferred from other classes of work to housing schemes in order to bring the production of houses up

to 125,000 per annum, a fact Mr. Wheatley took account of in his Housing Act. As regards increasing the total supply of labour (as opposed to the transfer of existing craftsmen) the committee suggest enlarging the number of apprentices to the trade and raising the age limit at which the lads may be indentured. At present the age limit is 16, and the report states that employers have been somewhat slack in the past in securing apprentices.

The condition which the committee regard as being absolutely essential to securing a sufficient supply of labour for the complete housing scheme is that there should be *a continuous building programme for fifteen years*. Where in the past the output per man has declined, it has been largely due to fear of the unemployment which would follow the completion of the job.

One cause that is holding back the number of apprentices in the building trade is that no arrangements have been made for payment in inclement weather. In wet or frosty weather the loss is chiefly borne by certain classes of labour, particularly the bricklayers and labourers, and it is calculated that two per cent. or less in the wages bill of an employer would enable him to pay for wet time or frost, provided that he organised his work so as to provide, as far as possible, that jobs under cover shall be kept available for spells of bad weather. The employers have so far resisted this suggestion whenever it has been put forward by the unions.

#### COST OF BUILDING.

The actual cost of building is made up of the following items: Materials, cost of labour, foreman, use of scaffolding and other plant, and profit.

Where the local authority is building by direct labour the element of profit has not got to be considered, but on the other hand, allowance should be made for interest during the course of construction and also for a proportion of the cost of management by officials appointed by the authority.

The cost of building is made up, approximately, as to 40 per cent. by wages of labour, 50 per cent. cost and transport of materials, and 10 per cent. foreman, use of plant, etc., profit. This applies where the profit is a reasonable one, though undoubtedly, in many cases, especially during 1920, the profit

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came to very much more. Sir Alfred Mond, M.P., stated on the 1st December, 1920, in the House of Commons,

"I have many figures which show that these local authorities are being held up by unreasonable costs... There is no doubt to anybody who has been following the matter that there has been a deliberate attempt to reap exaggerated profits in the building of these houses."

More recently the profits have been less unreasonable, but although causes may vary, a local authority still may find tenders excessively high. In such cases many local authorities have found it advisable to do the building work themselves and the following examples show the *advantages of direct labour*.

**Bradford City Council.** A return comparing costs of houses built by the Corporation by direct labour with those built by the contractor was made on February 10th, 1923, by the City Treasurer. Summarised his finding was:—

	Contractor	Direct Labour
Type A. 2.	£864	£855
,, A. 3.	£978 (av)	£947*
,, B. 3.	£1,120 (av)	£986

which shows a saving on building by direct labour of £58 per house. The City Surveyor stated that the superiority of conditions in holidays, sick pay and guaranteed week granted to the Corporation workers represented on an average £33 per house, as against contractors' conditions. Better materials and greater cubic air space (in some cases 25 per cent. over the contractors' houses) were obtained. (These figures represent building under the Addison scheme, when costs generally were higher.)

**Newmarket Urban District Council.** The lowest tender received in March, 1920, was £1,172 per house, which was reduced under pressure to £1,040. The Council rejected the tender and proceeded by direct labour. Final cost of each house: £761 7s. 11½d.—a saving of over 30 per cent. on the builders' prices.

**Tonbridge Borough Council.** Contractors' tenders were accepted for parlour type £1,070, and non-parlour type £979. Four of the former and six of the latter had been built when the Council decided to proceed by direct labour. Four non-parlour houses were completed by January, 1921, at £874 11s. 4d., and twelve parlour houses completed by the end of 1921 at £876,

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excluding under-building. A further block of non-parlour houses completed February, 1922, cost £691. (It is true that the cost of building was reduced towards the end of 1921, but as the first group was built during 1920 the direct labour cost of £874 can be compared with the £979 of the contractors.)

**Newbury.** In 1920 tenders at £875 per house were received. These were rejected and the Council built by direct labour at an actual cost per house of £684.

**Derby.** Tenders were accepted in March and December, 1922, at average prices of £417 and £356 per house respectively. Competitive tenders of £7,180, £7,196, £7,600 and £8,424 were received from local builders for the erection of four blocks of four houses in January last. The estimate for carrying out the work by direct labour was £6,928.

*The above is taken from the "New Housing Handbook," written by Richard Reiss for the Independent Labour Party. For fuller information this book should be consulted. Other books of importance that deal with the subject are:—*

"National Housing Manual." By H. R. Aldridge (National Housing and Town Planning Council, £2 2s.).

"Housing." By Major Harry Barnes (Benn Bros., 25/-).

"The Betrayal of the Slums." By the Rt. Hon. Christopher Addison (Herbert Jenkins, 2/6).

### Hansard, Vol. 181, No. 27. Monday, 2nd March, 1925. cols. 44/45.

**MR. CHAMBERLAIN.** The numbers of houses completed up to the 1st inst., under the Housing Acts of 1919 were as follows:—

(a) Housing, Town Planning, etc. Act, 1919 ... 172,259  
 (b) Housing (Additional Powers) Act, 1919 ... 39,186

The position as regards the Acts of 1923 and 1924 is as follows:—

	Act of 1923.		Act of 1924.	
	Number of Houses.	Authorised.	Number of Houses.	Authorised.
Building by Local Authority...	53,566	16,102	29,067	824
Building by Private Enterprise	129,723	41,780	970	—
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	183,289	57,882	30,037	824

The average prices of houses included in contracts let by local authorities in England and Wales during January, were:—

Non-parlour houses	...	...	...	£439
Parlour houses	...	...	...	£495

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## EDUCATION IN 1924.

**T**HE year 1924" says the *Times* Educational Supplement, "has been in education one of distinct advance, advance actual as well as potential, but perhaps chiefly potential. The progressive authorities are no longer marking time, the backward authorities are no longer going further backward. The ominous Geddes threat to education has, it may be hoped for good and all—but it is dangerous to prophesy at the present stage—lost its sting. The various main problems to be solved have been definitely formulated : the education and care of adolescents, the need for smaller classes, the deplorable state of rural education, the unorganised and inefficient condition of secondary education, the financial needs of the younger universities and university colleges, the lack of trained teachers in all grades of education, the need for the universal application of preventive medicine."

With all these Labour dealt. But the outstanding achievement of Mr. Trevelyan, Labour's first President of the Board of Education, was the new spirit he infused through all departments of administration, and got across to the general public. As he put it :—

"What I have attempted to do in speech and action has been to create the impression that we are entering on a new period of advance. I have been trying to excite the imagination of people to see what they may attain in ten years if they will it. Indifference and lethargy are the only obstacles to a clear doubling of the number of those who can get secondary education, to the raising of the ordinary school age to 15, to far wider access to the University in a few short years. The under-staffing, the overcrowding, the insanitary school buildings which I am now directly combating will naturally and incidentally disappear as the public conscience becomes bolder in education matters. It will gradually cease to be wild idealism for Labour speakers to say that every child ought to have a chance of University education, when the road to it through advanced education is being opened to a yearly widening circle. In its few short months of power, Labour has made the country see that if it had ten years of power we might become the most highly trained people in the world."

Labour came in after two years of drastic economy. The Geddes Report had advised that economy in elementary education should be effected by "raising the lower age limit, by putting more pupils under one teacher, and by paying the teacher less." Circular 1190, carrying out this policy "postponed" expenditure on facilities, sites, etc. The result was that in many parts of the country school buildings were, in 1924, in a shocking condition.

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The number of teachers fell; the use of uncertificated teachers outside rural areas accentuated the unemployment amongst teachers; and the policy of the Board of restricting admission to training colleges threatened to cut off the supply of trained men and women at the source. The increase in the size of classes and the restriction of the number of free places in secondary schools to below 25 per cent. were further important steps in a retrograde policy.

Mr. Trevelyan reversed all this. Circular 1328 (April, 1924) swept Circular 1190 into limbo, and asked for schemes of expansion and extension from local authorities. How much was done in a short time the following summary of the orders issued during his period of office shows:—

- (1) Survey of schools instituted in order to improve or replace those below standard.
- (2) School fees abolished in many areas with Board's approval.
- (3) Limitation of expenditure on school meals abolished.
- (4) Fifty per cent. maintenance of older children in elementary schools undertaken.
- (5) Applications from local authorities to raise school leaving age to 15 encouraged.
- (6) Forty new Secondary Schools approved.
- (7) Free places in Secondary Schools increased to 40 per cent.
- (8) Maintenance allowance for children in Secondary Schools increased by 50 per cent. from 6/- to 9/-.
- (9) State Scholarships restored.
- (10) Proposals for nursery and open air schools invited, and £20,000 granted to local juvenile associations.
- (11) Adult education—grant increased from £20,000 to £30,000.
- (12) Reduction in size of classes: elimination of classes approaching 60 (nearly 5,000 of these in 1923).

These changes, important and useful in themselves, were still more important as opening paths capable of being widened into great educational avenues. The central point was put by Mr. Trevelyan when he said in the House of Commons (February 21st, 1924): "I shall do all I can to give effect to the principles embodied in Section 4 of the Act of 1918 that children and young persons *shall not be debarred from receiving the benefit of any form of education by which they are capable of profiting, by inability to pay fees.*" The principle is in the Act: its develop-

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ment in action depends on Local Education Authorities. It is they who build schools, abolish fees, make maintenance grants, etc. The Labour Education Minister made it perfectly clear that he was prepared to encourage and approve a forward policy from them, and that immediate steps should be taken such as would forward the ideal of education, in the full sense, for all. Throughout 1924 there was a constant and encouraging stimulation of local bodies from the Board—i.e., a complete reversal of the policy of previous years.

The preliminary step in educational improvement generally, as in the reduction of the size of classes, is the provision of adequate school buildings. Since 1914 practically nothing had been done : Mr. Trevelyan was prepared to require (and it is to be hoped his successor may follow out his plans) the submission of building schemes by local authorities under the 1920 Act. The survey undertaken on his initiative showed the need for this—in rural areas generally and in many industrial areas it is a terribly urgent need. His abolition of financial restrictions on the local authorities gave them the power to act.

The figures recording the average size of classes, before Mr. Trevelyan took office, speak for themselves :—

	No. of Classes.					
	Under 20	20-30	30-40	40-50	50-60	Over 60
Pupils						
1919-20	11397	25415	36534	39039	31204	6970
1920-21	11878	26769	38061	39565	29385	5752
1921-22	11826	27263	39252	40203	28058	4973

(Hansard 25/1/24).

Circular 1325 (February, 1924) required local authorities to eliminate Classes of 60 and over within the year ; and further laid it down that a class of 40 ought, at once, to be regarded as the maximum.

The reduction in the size of classes is bound up not only with the provision of building, but with the supply of teachers. The Board's estimates for 1924-25 provided for an immediate increase in the number of full-time teachers from 163,147 (December, 1923) to 165,800 : if that number were employed the average ratio of children to teacher would be 30.4.

The vexed question of teachers' salaries, which occupied much of the year, was finally submitted to arbitration ; and the panels

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on the Burnham Committees have pledged themselves to accept the award and urge its adoption.

### National Cost of Education.

For two reasons the effect of these changes is not yet seen in the Education Estimates. First, estimates follow changes of policy at a considerable interval; second, owing to the fall in the birthrate the number of children attending school has declined.

Board of Education Estimates.

	£
1913-14	14,660,311
1918-19	19,431,205
1919-20	32,853,111
1920-21	45,755,567
1921-22	51,014,665
1922-23	45,275,000
1923-24	41,934,047
1924-25	41,900,000

The Table shows how, in education, owing to the unavoidable slowness of the machine and the complex system of local authorities, performance lags behind policy. For instance, 1919-20 was a year of forward policy, but its effect appears in the estimates for 1921-22; in the same way, the effect of Mr. Trevelyan's changes will be reflected in the estimates of 1926-27. The influence of the second factor—the decline in child population must also be taken into account. The following table gives the number of children in elementary schools: (—cmd. 2148).

1913-14	5,381,479
1918-19	5,114,039
1919-20	5,187,334
1920-21	5,206,098
1921-22	5,180,783
1922-23	5,134,385
1923-24 (1st Qr.)	5,137,228
(2nd Qr.)	5,106,149
(3rd Qr.)	5,050,000
1924-25 (Estimate)	5,050,000

Since the annual average of births in the five years since the war (1919-23 inclusive) is only 807,500, and the latest returns are still lower—780,124 in 1922 and 758,000 in 1923—the falling off in the number of children is not a merely temporary war phenomenon. So far as it affects school attendance counter-

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acting factors to be noted are (1) fall in mortality rate; (2) compulsory attendance up to 14 fixed in 1922; (3) increased voluntary attendance before 5.

### No. of Children on Registers at March 31st.

Year	Age 3-5	Age 5-12	Age 12-15	Under 15	Total
1910	382,069	4,579,728	1,102,191	6,063,988	
1915	282,971	4,670,297	1,118,076	6,071,344	
1920	186,583	4,493,974	1,243,607	5,924,164	
1921	177,140	4,421,144	1,258,414	5,856,995	
1922	158,285	4,346,108	1,305,252	5,809,645	
1923	165,607	4,182,065	1,341,742	5,689,414	

These figures may be completed by those showing the numbers of full-time students in grant-aided Secondary Schools and Training Colleges:—

Secondary Schools.	Training Colleges.
--------------------	--------------------

1913-14	...	...	187,647	12,940
1919-20	...	...	307,862	14,443
1920-21	...	...	340,454	16,671
1921-22	...	...	362,025	18,523
1922-23 (est.)	...	...	363,717	17,248
1923-24 (est.)	...	...	358,911	16,796

In the case of secondary schools, of course, there is a huge gap between the number of children and the number of children attending school. The Departmental Committee of 1920 on Scholarships and Free Places (Cmd. 968) reported that some 650,000 children leave elementary schools every year and receive no further education. Of these nearly 10,000 were denied admission to secondary schools because there was no room for them; while a further 8,000 qualified for scholarships, but the scholarships were not there. This was, of course, before the changes (4) and (9), introduced by Mr. Trevelyan, and before his encouragement to the building of secondary schools (6).

### Health of School Children.

The steps taken by the Labour Minister of Education to improve school buildings have already been touched on. They are of first-rate importance from the point of view of health, itself a vital factor in education.

According to the Report of the Chief Medical Officer for 1923 (published in November, 1924):—

"Partly owing to the antiquated style and character of many of the older schools, especially in the country districts, and partly owing to the financial necessity of reducing expenditure in recent years, the condition of many other schools has fallen below a reasonable health standard."

According to the Medical Officer for Wiltshire:—

"The conditions under which many children spend their school hours are object lessons in the neglect of hygiene, and it is not surprising that on the completion of their elementary education these lessons have been so thoroughly ingrained that they are reflected in their homes in after-life."

Two common evils are specially mentioned, "which cannot be justified by any reasonable demands of economy." First the antiquated type of school furniture; and, second, "the coldness of many class-rooms during the winter, resulting in the children being chilled and miserable, and in the spread of catarrhal conditions."

Nor is Wiltshire exceptional. In Shropshire "the children are suffering in many ways." Lancashire and Derbyshire are also adversely mentioned. Report after report refers to bad playgrounds; insufficient water facilities and cloak-rooms; dirty class-rooms; insufficient heating and ventilation; unsuitable desks, involving unhealthy positions and eye-strain.

Of the children examined in the routine of medical inspection, 16.0 per cent. in London, 20.2 per cent. in other areas were found to be in need of treatment—in the majority of cases for so-called "minor defects," which, if neglected, may leave to serious disease. The value of inspection and treatment and the importance of its maintenance and extension is proved by the reduction in more serious defects.

"A review of the results of School Medical Work over the years 1913-23," writes Sir W. Hamer, "leads to the conviction that the mountain of disability and suffering. . . has indeed begun to move. . . The London child is now a different being."

In London, the total proportion of children suffering from ailments requiring treatment was 36.7 per cent. in 1923—44.0 per cent. in 1918. Under-nourished children, 12.8 per cent. in 1913, were 5.9 per cent. As Sir George Newman says in his report, the mountain is still there, "but we know the way to move it."

The way to move it is, in fact, to extend and strengthen the School Medical Service, with all the clinics, etc., dependent on it, and to increase the provision of special schools; in fact, however, to provide home and other conditions that make for

health. It is not enough to combat disease or arrest the growth of its seeds.

The School Medical Service in 1921-2 cost £1,391,606; in 1923, £1,223,088. The reduction is ominous. No money spent by the State is better spent than this; "economy" here represents real waste. Mr. Trevelyan's estimates for expenditure under this head very properly showed an increase. "Special Services," including School Feeding, School Medical Service, etc., were £2,848,000 in 1923; £3,300,000 for 1924-5.

One aspect of the Service, that was in 1923, still gravely inadequate, was the provision of Special Schools. Sir George Newman estimated that in that year there were at least 213,440 children with definite physical and mental defects—blind, deaf, epileptic, mentally defective, tuberculous and crippled. The available day and residential accommodation in 1923 was for 41,357 children, but only 39,151 children were in the schools. At the same time he stressed the view that "our main preoccupation must always be to go to the root of the evil and prevent the defects."

#### **The Sickly Countryside.**

The gravest section in the report is that which deals with what the Medical Officer for Devonshire calls "The Decadence of the Rural Child." He says, "*That there has been a steady and progressive decline in the general physique of the majority of country children is abundantly manifest, nor is the decline associated with any special area, but exists practically all over the rural areas, even in moorland children.*"

Among the causes he mentions first:

- (a) Migration of the fit and consequent breeding from the unfit.
- (b) Bad housing; labourers' cottages, in many cases, unfit for human habitation; only remedy either a larger wage for the farm worker or State-owned cottages.
- (c) Lack of sufficient and suitable food.

If these children do not profit by education, it is hardly surprising; but the all-round loss to the community is immense.

"Public Health is purchaseable," so Sir George Newman stated in an earlier report. It is most cheaply purchaseable in the case of the children.

For every Socialist, the moral is plain. In relation both to education and to health it needs to be preached and worked for locally as well as, perhaps even more than, nationally.

**OLD AGE PENSIONS CLAIMS, PENSIONS PAYABLE, REVOKED, Etc.,**  
**For the year ended March, 31st, 1924 (Great Britain).**

Claims rejected and Pensions revoked on questions raised.										Total number of Pensions actually payable on the last Friday in the year.										Number of Pensioners whose death information has been received since March 31, 1923.									
By Committees or on Appeal.					Nature of Disqualification					As result of questions raised.					Total number of Questions raised during year.					Total number of Pensions received during the year.									
Age.	Poor Relief.	Means	Other Causes.	Cause.	8s.	6s.	5s.	4s.	3s.	2s.	Is.	Total.	To Men.	To Women.	Total.	To Men.	To Women.	Total.	To Men.	To Women.									
167,967	39,585	16,678	7,244	12,120	12,106	12,106	1,685	5,479	853,859	25,021	16,785	133	12,982	24	6,453	1,514	916,771	326,805	589,966	100,654									

PENSION PAYABLE ON THE LAST FRIDAY IN EACH YEAR, ENDED 31<sup>st</sup> MARCH, SINCE THE PASSING OF THE OLD AGE PENSIONS ACT 1908.

1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924
463,994	518,378	705,678	736,843	764,885	781,929	788,300	784,387	762,049	762,209	746,499	785,833	829,362	858,497	893,924	916,771

## PENSIONS IN 1924

**T**HE record of the different political parties on pensions for the aged ought to be sufficient, in itself, to show to the workers of the country where their champions are and on whom they can rely.

In 1906 the Liberals came into power with a huge majority, pledged to give Old Age Pensions. Till 1909 they did nothing to redeem those pledges. The Act, as passed, gave 5s. per week to a man of 70, 2s. 6d. to his wife; anyone who had received Poor Law Relief was excluded. Pressure from the Labour Party got this disability removed and the amount raised to 10s. per week for man or woman; but no individual with more than 10s. a week from savings received full pension, and those with 19s. a week or over got nothing.

In 1923, when a Tory Government was in power, the Labour Party tried to get the thrift disqualification removed. Mr. Baldwin refused: "We cannot afford it."

In 1924 Labour took office, in a minority so small as to restrict its financial power within narrow limits. Nevertheless, Mr. Snowden introduced and carried a new Old Age Pensions Act which to a very large extent removed the thrift disqualification and with it much of the irritating inquisition into the pensioners' sources of income. To quote Mr. Snowden it gives "to the old folks additional pensions equal in amount to the total new sum provided by the first Liberal measure."

As set out in the Official White Paper (Cmd. 2168) the Act provides that:—

"The existing basis of calculation of means shall be continued but it shall be made subject to the proviso that means derived from any source other than earnings shall be excluded from calculation in so far as they do not exceed £39 per annum in the case of a single person or £78 per annum in the case of a married couple."

This admission of means to the extent of 15s. per week for a single person, 30s. per week for a couple has

(a) enabled pensions to be granted to 173,000 persons who before 1924 got no pensions at all; and

(b) increased the pensions of the great majority of the 63,000 pensioners before 1924 drawing less than 10s. per week.

Of the 1,600,000 people over 70 in Britain, 1,090,000 will, under the new Act, receive Old Age Pensions. The excluded comprise 127,000 unoccupied persons with an income of over 35s. per week; 383,000 occupied persons earning over £1 a week, and, largely, over £2.

"The new Act," said Mr. Snowden, "does not profess to finally solve the question of Old Age Pensions. It was meant to deal, and to deal only, with one crying evil, namely, the injustice of depriving an old person or an old married couple of the right to a pension because they had been thrifty and made some provision for their old age." When Labour went out of office, Mr. Snowden had schemes ready for

- (1) lowering the pension age to 65;
- (2) providing widows' and children's pensions.

The 1924 Act was only an instalment—a short first step towards the adequate and honourable provision for old age that would be universal in the Socialist Commonwealth. As it is, the Act, of course, does not sweep away, though it reduces, the complicated calculations of the original Act; and many old persons do not understand their rights.

It should be noted, first, that "means" does not mean income. It is arrived at as follows:—On top of the £26 5s. allowed in the original Acts £39 is deducted. Then, after this deduction, the first £400 is put down as representing 5 per cent. Since, however, the first £25 is not counted, £400 is taken as equal to £18 15s. annual means. Money possessed beyond this £400 is calculated as allowing 10 per cent. income.

Since £39 annually is allowed, and £25 annually not counted (total £65 5s.), a person can possess £865, yielding £65 5s. annually, and still be eligible for full pension. Thus—

First £400 yields ...	... £18 15 . 0 annually
Further £465 yielding ...	£46 10 0
<hr/>	
	£65 5 0

Thrift savings in the form of shares are put down at the then selling market price in order to calculate their annual income.

The Act improves the position of those who have saved; it does not alter the position of those still earning. An individual whose earnings exceed £49 17s. 6d., gets nothing; a man earning 10s. a week only gets full pension.

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## The New Scale.

Yearly income of pensioners as calculated under Acts of 1908 and 1919.	Equal to weekly income of about	Pension per week.
Not more than £26 5s.	10s.	10s.
£26 5s. to £31 10s.	12s.	8s.
£31 10s. to £36 15s.	14s.	6s.
£36 15s. to £42 ...	16s.	4s.
£42 to £47 5s.	18s.	2s.
£47 5s. to £49 17s. 6d.	19s.	1s.
Over £49 17s. 6d.	—	No pension.

## The Old Scale.

As modified by the Act this scale now is :—

Yearly income of pensioners as calculated under Acts of 1908, 1919, and 1924.	Equal to weekly income of about	Or earned weekly income of about	Pensions per week.
Not more than £26 5s., plus £39 unearned	25s.	10s.	10s.
£26 5s. to £31 10s., plus £39 unearned	27s.	12s.	8s.
£31 10s. to £36 15s., plus £39 unearned	29s.	14s.	6s.
£36 15s. to £42, plus £39 unearned	31s.	14s.	4s.
£42 to £47 5s., plus £39 unearned	33s.	18s.	2s.
£47 5s. to £49 17s. 6d., plus £39 unearned	34s.	18s.	1s.
Over £49 17s. 6d., plus £39 unearned	—	—	No pension.

## DISABLEMENT PENSIONS

(EX-SERVICE WIDOWS AND DEPENDENTS.)

The following is an attempt to meet the needs of Labour Candidates, local representatives and branch officials who find themselves asked for advice and assistance on such cases, and is designed to give, in a compact form, sufficient information to meet such. For fuller amplification and details the best standard guide is "*What is due to me*" issued by the "Daily Herald," at 1/2.

### HOW TO CLAIM DISABLEMENT PENSIONS.

#### NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS AND MEN.

Application should be made to the Local War Pensions Office where the man's normal residence is. A man is eligible to make application for disablement pension in respect of a disability attributable to or aggravated by Great War service at any time within seven years of the date of his discharge or date of termination of the war, whichever is the earlier. This office will supply a form which should be filled in and returned. The Pension Officers are supposed to help if any difficulty in filling up those forms is found, but if the case is a complicated one it is wise to take the advice of some friend who has had experience of similar cases. A medical examination is always granted on

receipt of the application form, and the disability is assessed by percentage.

Here is the scale of pension according to the Royal Warrant with a number of instances of the allowance of the more common causes of disablement :—

Cause of disablement	Percentage allowed	AMOUNT DUE WEEKLY.						Private and similar ranks	
		Disablement Pension according to rank		Warrant Officer or N.C.O.	N.C.O.	N.C.O.	N.C.O.		
		1	2						
Loss of two limbs		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
Loss of an arm and an eye									
Loss of a leg and an eye									
Loss of both hands or of all digits									
Loss of both feet									
Loss of a hand and a foot									
Loss of sight (total)									
Total paralysis									
Lunacy	100%	3 0	0 2	13 4	2 10	0 2 6	8 2 3	4 2 0 0	
Permanently bedridden									
Internal wounds resulting in total permanent disablement									
Permanent total disablement of head or brain									
Jacksonian epilepsy									
Extreme facial injury									
Advanced cases of incurable diseases									
Loss of right arm	90%	2 14	0 2	8 0	2 5	0 2 2	0 1 19	0 1 16 0	
Loss of leg or left arm									
Severe facial injury	80%	2 8	0 2	2 8	2 0	0 1 17	4 1 14	8 1 12 0	
Loss of speech									
Loss of leg to thigh									
Loss of right arm to elbow	70%	2 2	0 1	17 4	1 15	0 1 12	8 1 10	4 1 8 0	
Total deafness									
Loss of leg to knee									
Loss of left arm to elbow	60%	1 16	0 1	12 0	1 10	0 1 8	0 1 6	0 1 4 0	
Loss of right arm below elbow									
Loss of leg below knee (including Symes' and Chopart's amputation)	50%	1 10	0 1	6 8	1 5	0 1 3	4 1 1	8 1 0 0	
Loss of left arm below elbow									
Loss of sight of one eye	%								
Loss of thumb or all fingers of right hand	40%	1 4	0 1	1 4	1 0	0 1 18	8 1 17	4 1 16 0	
Loss of thumb or all fingers of left hand									
Loss of three fingers of right hand	30%	1 8	0 1	6 0	1 5 0	1 4 0	1 3 0	1 2 0	
Loss of two fingers	20%	1 2	0 1	8 0	1 0 0	9 4	8 8	8 0	

NOTE.—If it can be proved that the applicant was normally left-handed, compensation for the left arm will equal that for the right and vice-versa..

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In addition to these amounts allowances for wife and children (the same for all ranks), are made. This allowance is based on the same percentage as the main sum and works out—

## AMOUNT DUE WEEKLY.

Percentage.	Wife.	Where mother receives allowance.		Where no allowance is paid to mother.		
		First child.	Further children.	First child.	Second child.	Further children.
100%	s. d. 10 0	s. d. 7 6	s. d. 6 0 each	s. d. 10 0	s. d. 7 6	s. d. 6 0 each
90%	9 0	6 9	5 5 "	9 0	6 9	5 5 "
80%	8 0	6 0	4 10 "	8 0	6 0	4 10 "
70%	7 0	5 3	4 2 "	7 0	5 3	4 2 "
60%	6 0	4 6	3 7 "	6 0	4 6	3 7 "
50%	5 0	3 9	3 0 "	5 0	3 9	3 0 "
40%	4 0	3 0	2 5 "	4 0	3 0	2 5 "
30%	3 0	2 3	1 10 "	3 0	2 3	1 10 "
20%	2 0	1 6	1 2 "	2 0	1 6	1 2 "

A disabled man's wife can only obtain allowance if the marriage took place before the wound, disease or injury was incurred, and only children under sixteen, born less than nine months after leaving the service, may count for allowance.

## WIDOWS AND RELATIVES.

The methods of claim, and appeal in these cases are exactly similar to those outlined for disabled men. The scale is :—

## AMOUNT DUE WEEKLY.

Rank of husband.	Widow over 40 or with children eligible.				Widow not over 40 and no children eligible.
	Over 40 no children.	One child.	Two children.	Further children	
Warrant Officer 1 Warrant or N.C.O. 2 ....	£ s. d. 2 0 0	£ s. d. 2 10 0	£ s. d. 2 17 6	£ s. d. 6 0 each	£ s. d. 1 10 0
N.C.O. 2 ....	1 15 7	2 5 7	2 13 1	6 0 each	1 6 8
N.C.O. 3 ....	1 13 4	2 3 4	2 10 10	6 0 "	1 5 0
N.C.O. 4 ....	1 11 1	2 1 1	2 8 8	6 0 "	1 3 4
Private & similar ranks ....	1 8 11	1 18 11	2 6 5	6 0 "	1 1 8
	1 6 8	1 16 8	2 4 2	6 0 "	1 0 0

HOW TO PUSH OR FIGHT A CLAIM.

Once a claim has been made at the Local Pensions Committee a Medical Board is certain to follow and an assessment of the disability made. If this is considered satisfactory there is of course no point in going forward. If the appellant is not satisfied with the assessment of the Board, he is entitled to appeal against the decision. This appeal should be made at once to the Medical Referee, through the Local Office. Should the result of this still be unsatisfactory a further appeal should be made. This again is made through the Local War Pensions Office and is to a Statutory Appeals Tribunal (known as the House of Lords Tribunal). These tribunals are not under the control of the Minister of Pensions. Rejection by one of these tribunals is almost always final and no influential person, not even the Minister himself, can do anything if this appeal is lost.

STATUTORY APPEALS TRIBUNAL (HOUSE OF LORDS TRIBUNAL).

These tribunals are independent bodies, whose members are nominated and whose procedure is governed by the Lord Chancellor (in Scotland the Lord President).

The members of the tribunal consist of one legal representative (who acts as Chairman), a disabled man, and a qualified medical man.

Every appellant is entitled to take a friend with him to assist him in putting his case and two copies of a complete history of the case as supplied to the appellant some time before the case is heard: It is extremely unwise to go before these tribunals alone. The appellant, if successful, may claim his expenses.

The appellant should make sure of his grounds before filling up the form of appeal to the Tribunal, and should obtain the best possible advice at his hearing.

The paragraph on the form stating reasons for appeal needs especial care, as only those grounds stated will be considered. For example, should an appeal be made for neuritis but an examination at the Tribunal show that the complaint is rheumatism, the appeal will be disallowed, no matter how serious the rheumatism may be.

If the appellant is disallowed by the Tribunal he cannot claim again for the same disability unless joint agreement is reached between the Minister of Pensions and the Tribunal. This is rarely obtained unless very important new medical evidence is brought forward.

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No claim for appeal is valid if twelve months have elapsed since the final award was notified.

### GENERAL INFORMATION.

No department may recover from a disability pension except the Ministry of Pensions. No officer of the Ministry may ask an appellant what he is able to earn.

Failure to fill in and return promptly the quarterly Life Certificate supplied to each pensioner will invariably cause delay and trouble to the pensioner and may lead to stoppage.

A Pension cannot be used as security.

Local War Pensions Committees are obliged to give all information necessary to pensioners.

A completely disabled man is entitled to £1 a week extra to meet the expense of an attendant.

Treatment for injuries or sickness caused by, or attributable to service, may always be obtained free. Should the treatment necessitate laying up, allowances of full pension rate will be made. Disabled men unable to return to their trades may apply to the Ministry of Labour for a course of free training in some more suitable trade or occupation.

A man holding paid acting rank is entitled to pension in accordance. Pension is liable to be reduced by half if the pensioner refuses treatment ordered by a Medical Board. Pensions may be stopped if not drawn for four successive quarters, if the pensioner goes abroad without permission, or if he is sent to prison for a felony.

A widow's pension ceases upon re-marriage, but she is entitled to a gratuity of one year's pension. The children's allowances continue.

Unmarried wives are entitled to 12s. per week and allowances for children on the ordinary scale.

Any instances of undue severity or neglect at a Local War Pensions Office should be at once reported to the local I.L.P. or Labour Party, who in their turn, should bring it to the notice of the M.P. for the constituency and the Minister of Pensions.

## OCCUPATIONAL STATISTICS:

### England and Wales.

The following statistics are extracted from the new official publication, "Census of England and Wales, 1921: Occupations."

	Males.	Females.
Population of England and Wales ...	18,075,239	19,811,460
Twelve years and over ...	13,901,108	15,699,805
Occupied persons of 12 years and over ...	12,112,718	5,065,332

It should be noted that, in 1921, women engaged in unpaid domestic service were returned as "unoccupied."

#### Chief Occupations of Men and Boys.

The groups of occupations in each of which more than 100,000 males are engaged are as follows:—

	Males.
Metal Workers ...	1,540,200
Transport and Communication ...	1,420,600
Agricultural Occupations ...	1,171,300
Commercial, Finance, and Insurance (excluding Clerks) ...	1,063,100
Mining and Quarrying ...	1,061,700
"Other and Undefined Workers" (mostly General Labourers) ...	883,800
Clerks and Draughtsmen ...	568,000
Builders, Bricklayers, Contractors ...	503,500*
Wood and Furniture Workers ...	496,800
Public Administration and Defence ...	442,300
Textile Workers ...	372,000
Personal Service (including Hotels) ...	339,900
Professional Occupations (excluding Clerical Staff) ...	306,800
Makers of Textile Goods and Dress ...	288,700
Warehousemen, Storekeepers and Packers ...	222,300
Painters and Decorators ...	204,800
Makers of Food, Drink and Tobacco ...	193,500
Paper, Printing, Bookbinding ...	168,500
Electrical Apparatus Makers and Fitters ...	143,800
Stationary Engine Drivers, &c.	156,300
Workers in Mixed or Undefined Materials, Vehicles, Ships, &c. ...	100,800

#### Chief Occupations of Women and Girls.

	Females.
Personal Service ...	1,676,400
Textile Workers ...	609,000
Makers of Textile Goods and Dress ...	548,000
Commercial, Finance and Insurance (including Shop Assistants) ...	496,000
Clerks ...	429,700
Professional ...	360,000
Warehousemen ...	128,700
Paper, Printing ...	109,900
Metal Workers ...	109,100
Makers of Food, Drink and Tobacco ...	100,600

## INDUSTRY IN 1924

**R**OUND about the time of Labour's forming a Government, several major industrial disputes came to a head in strikes and lockouts. A political point was made that industrial labour took advantage of the fact that a Labour Government was in office. Statistics were produced to prove the number of disputes and the number of workpeople involved greater in 1924 than in 1923. The true criterion of trade disputes is, however, the number of working days lost, and in 1924 *less working days were lost through trade disputes than in any previous year since the end of the War or in the five years before the War (1910-1914 inclusive)*. The following table gives the true position:—

Year	Number of Disputes beginning in year	Number of Workpeople involved in Disputes beginning in year	Aggregate Duration in Working Days of all Disputes in progress during Year.
		Directly.	Indirectly.
1910	521	384,000	9,867,000
1911	872	824,000	10,155,000
1912	834	1,232,000	40,890,000
1913	1,459	498,000	9,804,000
1914	972	326,000	9,878,000
1915	672	401,000	2,953,000
1916	532	235,000	2,446,000
1917	730	575,000	5,647,000
1918	1,165	923,000	5,875,000
1919	1,352	2,400,000	34,969,000
1920	1,607	1,779,000	26,567,000
1921	763	1,770,000	85,872,000
1922	576	512,000	19,850,000
1923	628	343,000	10,672,000
1924	692	556,000	8,312,000

Though the number of disputes was greater in 1924 than in 1923, the fact that the number of working days lost was less in the latter year is mainly due to the policy adopted by the Labour Government in immediately instituting a public enquiry into the causes. The impartial findings of these tribunals made it possible for public opinion to make itself felt decisively with the consequent shortening of the dispute.

**The Railway Enginemen's Strike.**

This strike lasted from January 21st to January 29th, 1924. A Court of Inquiry could not be established as the change of

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Government took place during the period. The Railway Companies stated that :

"In November last the National Wages Board was called upon to consider an application from the Railway Companies for a reduction of wages. The claim put in by the Railway Companies represented a reduction in their wages bill of £9,000,000 per annum. In December the National Wages Board gave its decision conceding reductions amounting approximately to £500,000 per annum to be brought into force as from the third full pay week in January."

This reduction in wages fell almost entirely on enginemen, particularly in reduction of mileage rates, though other modifications were also imposed. On mileage rates the National Wages Board decided that :—

"The present rates of pay of drivers and motor-men range from 12/- to 15/- per day, and of firemen and assistant motor-men from 9/6 to 12/- per day, according to length of service. When the mileage performed during any turn of duty exceeds 120 miles additional payment is made on the basis of 15 miles an hour.

"The Board reach the conclusion that the present system of mileage should be retained, but that the basis should be 150 miles per day, mileage in excess of that figure to be paid for on the basis of 15 miles per hour, such system to be applicable to drivers, motor-men and firemen. . . ."

The Railway Companies at the outset stated that they were prepared to abide by the decision, whatever it might be. The National Union of Railwaymen and the Railway Clerks' Association accepted the decision. The Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen refused to accept it, although their representatives on the National Wages Board were signatories to it. The Railway Companies, in these circumstances, felt they had no alternative but to apply the decision from the date fixed. Negotiations failed, and the Associated Society decided that the terms offered were not sufficient to warrant a withdrawal of the strike notices, which became operative at midnight, January 20th.

On January 23rd the General Council of the Trades Union Congress met, considered the position and appointed a small committee to watch developments. Following consultations between this committee and the parties concerned, negotiations were resumed which, with the assistance of the committee, resulted in a settlement being effected early in the morning of June 29th. The terms of settlement included a modification of the reductions of mileage rates by introducing reductions in three stages.

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"From the date of the operation of the decision 130 miles shall equal one day's pay.

"From the beginning of the first pay week in July, 1924, 140 miles shall equal one day's pay.

"From the beginning of the first pay week in January, 1925, 150 miles shall equal one day's pay, unless in the interval, it is agreed otherwise at a meeting to be convened for the purpose.

"Payment for mileage in excess of the stipulated equivalent for a day's pay to be at the rate of one hour's pay for every 15 miles."

The total number of men employed on the railways who were directly or indirectly involved in the dispute, was about 69,000. This number includes those members of National Union of Railwaymen who actively supported the Associated Society. On December 22nd, 1924, on application by the Associated Society and the National Union of Railwaymen, the National Wages Board decided that "After hearing the submissions of the parties and considering the same and the evidence adduced, the Board are of opinion that, having regard to all the circumstances, it would not be desirable to make any alteration in the mileage payment at present in operation." The effect of this award is that in January, 1925, the mileage rates will not be put up to 150 miles, but remain at 140 miles per day.

### Strike of Dock Workers.

This strike lasted from February 16th to 25th. The following is the official account of the strike, as given in the Ministry of Labour Gazette.

"The Transport and General Workers' Union, at a delegate conference held at York on November 29th, 1923, decided to apply to the port and dock employers throughout the country for an increase of 2/- per day in the daily minimum wage and a guaranteed week."

"The Union sent in their claim to the employers on December 15th, 1923, and tendered formal notice on January 1st, 1924, to terminate the existing National Agreement. A meeting of the National Joint Council for Dock Labour was held on January 16th, at which the employers refused the application of the Union. In view of this refusal the Union called a further delegate conference for January 29th, when it was decided that the members of the Union should be instructed to withdraw their labour at noon on February 16th, in all parts of Great Britain, unless in the meantime a settlement satisfactory to the delegate conference had been arrived at. They also notified

the employers that the following Unions were associated with them, viz., the National Union of General Workers, the National Amalgamated Union of Labour, the United Order of General Labourers, and the National Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Firemen, Mechanics, Motormen, and Electrical Workers.

"A further conference between the parties was held on February 5th. The conference was adjourned to enable the employers to consult the National Council of Port Labour Employers. At the adjourned conference on February 11th, no agreement was reached and negotiations broke down. So soon as this was known, the Minister of Labour invited the parties to meet again under his auspices. Negotiations finally broke down late on Saturday afternoon, February 16th. In the meantime the strike had commenced at noon on February 16th, all parts in Great Britain being affected.

On Monday, February 18th, the Minister of Labour announced in the House of Commons that he had decided to set up a Court of Inquiry. During the evening of February 20th, further conferences between the parties to dispute were held, under the chairmanship of the Minister of Labour. As the result an agreement was reached, and the Court thereupon adjourned the hearing *sine die*. The terms of the agreement included the following:—

"Wages.—On and after the date of resumption of work the minimum daily wage on the half-daily basis will be for the greater ports 11/-, and for the smaller ports 10/- respectively, and on and after June 2nd, 1924, 12/- and 11/- respectively."

The men's case was overwhelmingly strong. In 1920, the Shaw Report had recommended a minimum wage of 16/- a day. Between August 1st, 1921, and July 1st, 1923, the total successive reductions had amounted to 6/- a day. Public opinion overwhelmingly supported the dockers, as can be gathered from a leading article in the "Times" of February 15th, 1924, which contained the following statement:—

"The character of the negotiations never seems to have recovered from the mistake the employers committed at the first, regarding the claim of the Union as matters not submitted for discussion but for decision. If all questions as to conditions of employment raised by workmen were to be treated in that way, the industrial outlook would soon become hopeless."

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The establishment of a Court of Inquiry by the Labour Government helped on the end of the strike in causing the collapse of the employers' case, with the subsequent result that the men won their full demands.

### **The London Tramway and Omnibus Strike.**

This strike lasted from March 22nd to March 31st. On December 19th, 1923, the Transport and General Workers' Union gave notice to the employers' representatives on the District Joint Industrial Council for the Tramway Industry in the Metropolitan Area. The application was considered by the District Council, but the employers stated that they were not able to meet the application owing to the financial position of the undertakings. The London County Council and certain of the municipal authorities then offered advances of various amounts to motormen, conductors, inspectors, and regulators. The employees' representatives rejected the offers and confirmed their claims for a general advance of 8/- per week in the basic rate of wages of all grades, failing which the notices to cease work would become operative at midnight, on March 21st.

The strike began at that time and employees of the London General Omnibus Company—who were no parties to the dispute, came out in sympathy.

On March 21st, the Government instituted a Court of Inquiry, and on the 24th, it presented an interim report which contained the following conclusions :—

(a) *Throughout the inquiry the merits of the claim on behalf of the workers for an increase of wages were not seriously questioned.*

(b) The present crisis has, in the main, arisen through the tramway undertakings in the Metropolitan area being unable to earn sufficient to meet the claim. This has been brought about by the severe competition of the omnibuses in the absence of any co-ordinating control, by the heavy expenditure on renewals and upkeep of the permanent way at present high costs, and by the discharge of the statutory obligations for the maintenance of the surface of the highway.

(c) There is unanimity on the part of those, who have appeared before us, competent to express an opinion on the matter, that the solution for the present unsatisfactory position of the industry in the Metropolitan area is not to be found in an increase of fares.

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(d) All parties express the view, with which we concur, that without some co-ordinating control of passenger traffic within the Metropolitan area there is little, if any, prospect of improvement in the condition of the industry.

(e) A definite undertaking by the Government to introduce and press forward legislation placing the passenger traffic of the Metropolitan traffic area under some co-ordinating control, affords, in our view, a basis for re-opening negotiations between the parties."

The Minister of Transport introduced the London Traffic Bill in the House of Commons on March 28th, and it was read a second time on March 28th. On March 26th, the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, instructed its members on the Underground Services, to support the Tramwaymen by ceasing work on March 28th.

At the invitation of Mr. MacDonald, all parties concerned met him on March 27th, and a provisional settlement was agreed to on the following day, which was submitted to a delegate conference, the strike notice on the Underground being in the meanwhile cancelled. The delegate conference decided to submit the terms to a ballot vote of the tramwaymen, which resulted in a large majority for acceptance. Work was resumed on April 1st. The provisional settlement included an advance of 6/- to basic wage of tramway motormen, conductors, inspectors, and regulators.

### Coal Mining Industry.

On April 15th, the Minister of Labour set up a Court of Inquiry into the claim put forward by the Miners' Federation, refused by the owners. The "Labour Gazette" reports its findings as follows :—

The representatives of the Miners' Federation made it clear at the inquiry that they no longer adhered to the proposals which had been the subject of negotiation with the mineowners, and that the claim which they wished the Court to consider was "*a living wage*, which should not be less than the rates obtaining in 1914, with the local adjustments since made to remove anomalies, plus the increase in cost of living and the increase of 2/- per shift, recommended by the Sankey Commission."

Certain figures relating to wages and earnings in each district were submitted both by the mineowners and by the miners, and the Report states that "at any rate in the case of adult day-

wage workers there are few cases in which it can be found that the wage rates have reached a level equal to the 1914 rates, plus the percentage increase for the increased cost of living. *The result, therefore, is that if 1914 were taken as a measure of the proper wage to be paid to those engaged in the mining industry, practically every class of day wage worker is, in terms of real wages, worse off to-day than he was then. In some cases this deficiency is most marked.*" In regard to the mineowners' contention that in any circumstances the 1914 test is inapplicable, the Report states : "We think the mineowners are right in saying the 1914 wages were at a high level in the history of the industry, but we do not feel able to estimate the extent to which the 1914 wages exceeded what was required for average maintenance and support. In any circumstances we are of opinion that the risks attending a miner's occupation and the conditions in which his work is performed are matters which have to be brought into consideration in any question affecting the wages of men working underground."

On the subject of the effect upon output of the reduction of hours introduced in 1919 and of "lost time," the Report states that figures placed before the Court tend to show that the rate of "lost time" does vary directly with the standard of wages, and that it is also beyond question that the average rate of output per shift, measured over the whole of the persons employed, has fallen. *On the other hand, whether this is due to the increased effort on the part of the workmen or to the large increase and improvement which has undoubtedly taken place in the mechanical equipment of the mines; the present rate of output per man per hour is higher than in 1913.*

The Court are of opinion that, "looking at the industry as it is to-day, it appears from the figures before us that under present conditions the profits of the industry, particularly in some districts, are unable to meet the miners' claim in full." While bearing in mind that their opinion was not asked upon the merits of the controversy relating to the Agreement of 1921, nor upon the best method of escape from the present difficulties, the Court suggest that "the resumption of negotiations between the parties, with a view to a modification of the terms of the Agreement of 1921, appears to offer an immediate and practicable means of effecting a new Wages Agreement."

A statement of the points at issue was submitted, at the Court's request, by the Miners' Federation at the end of the Inquiry. These points, and the conclusions of the Court thereupon, are as follows:—

(1) *That the wages paid to the workers in the collieries under the provisions of the late agreement were substantially less than the equivalent of their pre-war earnings:—*

"With regard to day-wage workers this contention has been established. It is true also with regard to pieceworkers in certain collieries, but not to all."

(2) That the increase of 2s. per shift to adults and 1s. to boys under 16, recommended by the Coal Industry Commission in March, 1919, was, at least in part, for the purpose of raising the standard of living of the mine workers:—

"We cannot tell what was the actual purpose of allowing this increase. Paragraph 5 of the Interim Report by the Chairman suggests that the cost of living was part of the reason. The paragraph in question reads as follows:—'We recommend an increase in wage to all colliery workers of two shillings and one shilling a day, respectively, for each day worked. . . . The reason two shillings and one shilling are recommended instead of a percentage is that it remunerates the lower-paid worker in a fairer degree, and, after all, the necessities of life are no cheaper to him than they are to his more highly-paid comrade.'"

(3) *That the agreement of 1st July, 1921, while giving the workmen wages less than the equivalent of pre-war earnings, allowed the owners profits substantially in excess of pre-war profits:—*

"It is true that the Agreement permitted this result, and with regard to certain classes of workmen and certain collieries it in fact so operated."

(4) That the first charge upon the net proceeds of the industry should be a minimum wage to the workmen. That minimum should include the elements composing the standards as defined in the recent Agreement, but revised having regard to

(a) the increased cost of living, as indicated by the current figures published by the Ministry of Labour; and

(b) the improvement in the standard of living provided by the award of the Coal Industry Commission, 1919:—

"We think that the provision of a minimum wage should have precedence over distribution of profits. We cannot

specify conditions as to the basis on which that minimum should be fixed."

(5) That any standard of profits should be at a fixed rate per ton, equal to the pre-war profits per ton:—

"This is a method for amending the late agreement, which has not been discussed before us, and upon which we do not feel competent to express an opinion."

(6) That the earnings of railway wagons and the profits from coking and by-product plants should be regarded as proceeds of the industry:—

"Where these undertakings are separately owned we do not think their profits can be included; nor, apart from agreement, does the principle differ where they are under one ownership."

Appended to the Report are two schedules, giving (i) a statement of the thirteen districts into which the country is divided for the purposes of the Agreement of 1921 and showing the average number of persons employed during 1923; and (ii) a statement showing, in tabular form, the main provisions of the Agreement of 1921, and of the original claim submitted by the Miners' Federation and the offer of the Mining Association, with the amendments put forward in the course of the negotiations preceding the Inquiry.

### **The Shipyard Workers' Dispute.**

Lasted from 12th to 23rd of April.

The shipyard workers' dispute was a lock-out of about 20,000 shipyard workers in Federated districts (Clyde, East of Scotland, North-East Coast, Hull, Barrow, Birkenhead, etc.), which was imposed in order to enforce a resumption of work at Southampton, where about 7,000 workpeople had been on strike since February to secure an advance in wages. After resumption of work at Southampton, the lock-out was withdrawn.

### **National Building Industry Dispute.**

The strike lasted from 7th July to 22nd of August, with 100,000 men involved.

The strike in the building industry was the principal dispute in the year. Negotiations were in progress for a general advance in wages and other alterations in working conditions

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when a stoppage of work occurred in Liverpool, where certain building operatives who had previously received under local agreement, higher rates of wages, refused to accept the lower rates fixed for that district by the National Wages and Conditions Council. No settlement having been effected at Liverpool, National negotiations were interrupted and a stoppage began on 7th July. On the 22nd August an agreement was effected providing, *inter alia*, that Liverpool should retain a local agreement until at least December, 1925.

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# SOME INDUSTRIAL STATISTICS, 1924.

## Unemployment, 1924.

7th January	..	1,265,797	7th July	.	..	1,032,104
14th	"	1,258,061	14th	"	..	1,034,653
21st	"	1,253,002	21st	"	..	1,044,200
28th	"	1,322,454	28th	"	..	1,052,457
4th February		1,248,322	4th August		..	1,083,553
11th	"	1,189,805	11th	"	..	1,097,557
18th	"	1,160,017	18th	"	..	1,127,008
25th	"	1,155,904	25th	"	..	1,152,433
3rd March	.	1,137,291	1st September		..	1,165,285
10th	"	1,115,773	8th	"	..	1,167,682
17th	"	1,093,392	15th	"	..	1,167,170
24th	"	1,063,408	22nd	"	..	1,184,764
31st	"	1,057,031	29th	"	..	1,243,400
7th April	.	1,044,395	6th October	..	..	1,257,574
14th	"	1,040,056	13th	"	..	1,252,145
21st	"	1,046,470	20th	"	..	1,246,148
28th	"	1,052,472	27th	"	..	1,247,095
5th May	.	1,044,275	3rd November		..	1,271,597
12th	"	1,032,856	10th	"	..	1,261,605
19th	"	1,025,875	17th	"	..	1,251,417
26th	"	1,022,370	24th	"	..	1,232,668
2nd June	.	1,015,125	1st December		..	1,232,550
9th	"	1,035,675	8th	"	..	1,224,722
16th	"	1,052,254	15th	"	..	1,201,001
23rd	"	1,021,536	22nd	"	..	1,212,662
30th	"	1,015,380	29th	"	..	1,319,271

## Trade Disputes. (1)

	Started before 1st of month.	Started in month.	Total.	No. of workpeople involved.	Aggregate working days lost.
January	...	11	37	48	82,800 629,000
February	...	20	56	76	144,000 699,000
March	...	21	59	80	76,000 730,000
April	...	21	46	67	51,000 471,000
May	...	30	56	86	36,200 398,000
June	...	35	57	92	50,000 356,000
July	...	38	57	95	— —
August	...	43	53	96	122,000 1,764,000
September	...	34	41	75	28,000 518,000
October	...	37	37	74	36,000 377,000
November	...	32	40	72	15,000 134,000
December	...	24	41	65	16,000 92,000

## Trade Disputes (2) Classified by Industries.

Industry	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Mining and Quarrying	15	21	23	14	16	18	24	23	14	16	11	17
	No. of Disputes 10,000	16,000	13,000	8,000	22,700	17,000	17,000	6,000	15,000	6,000	10,000	
	No. of Workpeople 111,000	88,000	106,000	104,000	224,000	162,000	187,000	133,000	98,000	108,000	47,000	41,000
Metal Engineering & Shipbuilding	7	12	17	19	17	10	24	22	16	12	13	17
	No. of Disputes 600	10,000	10,000	30,000	3,800	8,000	6,000	15,000	14,000	14,000	2,000	
	No. of Workpeople 8,000	61,000	201,000	270,000	32,000	59,000	73,000	162,000	311,000	182,000	11,000	24,000
Building, Decorating, & Contracting, etc	6	9	—	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	No. of Disputes 600	1,000	—	5,000	1,400	4,000	—	—	—	—	—	—
	No. of Workpeople 13,000	7,000	—	18,000	29,000	36,000	—	—	—	—	—	—
Transport	6	7	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	No. of Disputes 487,000	519,000	365,000	46,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Public Administrative Services	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	No. of Disputes No. of Workpeople Working Days Lost	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Textile	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	No. of Disputes No. of Workpeople Working Days Lost	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Woodworking & Furnishing	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	No. of Disputes No. of Workpeople Working Days Lost	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Brick, Glass & Pottery	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	No. of Disputes No. of Workpeople Working Days Lost	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Other Trades	14	27	31	20	21	40	29	37	35	27	29	35
	No. of Disputes 800	3,000	7,000	5,000	2,800	6,000	7,000	12,000	4,000	2,000	3,000	1,000
	No. of Workpeople 10,000	24,000	58,000	43,000	33,000	57,000	49,000	96,000	43,000	46,000	43,000	16,000

### Causes of Industrial Disputes, 1924.

Month	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Demands for increase in wages	7	16	19	17	18	23	17	29	14	12	4	17
No. of workpeople involved	800	121,000	23,000	9,000	4,000	16,000	—	19,000	800	9,000	600	3,000
Proposed reduction in wages	7	9	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
No. of workpeople involved	60,200	3,000	2,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Other wages questions	12	6	11	11	15	12	16	14	12	13	15	—
No. of workpeople involved	4,800	3,000	3,000	1,000	4,000	4,000	—	3,000	1,100	1,000	2,600	—
Detail of working arrangements	5	—	9	—	—	4	6	2	—	—	—	6
No. of workpeople involved	2,200	—	4,000	—	—	4,000	—	4,000	—	—	—	3,000
Respecting the employment of particular classes or persons	6	13	7	9	13	10	—	—	7	6	7	12
No. of workpeople involved	1,000	7,000	2,000	3,000	6,000	1,000	—	—	1,200	2,000	300	3,000
Other questions	—	12	—	8	7	3	9	8	8	6	9	6
No. of workpeople involved	—	2,000	—	3,000	1,000	2,000	—	3,000	400	1,000	1,000	2,000
Trade Union principle	—	—	6	—	—	5	9	—	—	—	—	—
No. of workpeople involved	—	—	3,000	—	—	2,000	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sympathy with workpeople in other strikes	—	—	3	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
No. of workpeople involved	—	—	25,000	—	11,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total No. of disputes commencing	37	56	59	45	56	57	57	53	41	37	40	41

### Results of Trade Disputes, 1924.

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Disputes settled.												
Old disputes settled	...	5	11	13	9	12	16	14	17	11	17	15
New disputes settled	...	19	33	34	27	30	24	27	29	23	17	28
Total disputes settled	...	24	44	47	36	42	40	41	46	34	34	36
In favour of workpeople	...	7	13	13	10	4	8	11	14	7	9	10
No. of workpeople	...	3,000	2,000	4,000	1,000	1,000	10,000	4,000	—	1,000	10,000	1,000
In favour of employees	...	7	8	9	15	24	13	14	12	11	9	14
No. of workpeople	...	1,000	2,000	3,000	23,000	5,000	11,000	3,000	—	3,000	1,000	2,000
Compromised	...	10	23	25	11	14	19	16	20	16	16	19
No. of workpeople ...	...	61,000	123,000	42,000	2,000	2,000	4,000	7,000	—	5,000	3,000	7,000
Work resumed pending negotiations	5	9	9	2	7	10	8	13	2	8	3	4
No. of workpeople	...	1,000	5,000	8,000	7,000	5,000	14,000	5,000	—	400	600	1,000

## INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS.

**W**HAT are the rights of a workman when he meets with an accident at work? What steps should he or his friends take to see that he secures these rights?

Books could be written in answer to both these questions, but an attempt will be made to give a short outline of the Law and to impress upon workmen more important points.

There may be a claim against the Employer or against a third party, who, by his carelessness has caused the accident. If there is such a claim the workman should try to reckon which will pay best. If the period of incapacity is short, a claim for damages against the Employer or the third party will give the workman his full wages and loss. Such a claim can only be made where the Employer or his foreman or the third party or his servants have caused the accident through negligence.

Where the duration of the incapacity is uncertain it will generally pay to claim compensation under The Workmen's Compensation Acts from the Employer, as the weekly payments continue during incapacity, however long it may last.

A claim against an Employer may be on the ground of negligence or under the Workmen's Compensation Acts, and the workman must decide whether or not he has a claim for negligence and whether or not it will pay better than Workmen's Compensation. The problems of law relating to an Employer's liability for negligence are so complex that they cannot be explained here.

It must, however, be made clear that a workman can only be compensated from one person and under one law. If he accepts payments under the Workmen's Compensation Acts he cannot claim on any other ground. If he accepts payments from a third party he cannot claim from his Employer.

The most common case is, of course, under the Workmen's Compensation Acts. I will try to trace the various steps to be taken, describing what rights the Acts give, but, before doing so, in view of constant misconceptions, I will point out a few of the things which the Acts do not do.

They do *not* entitle a workman to a lump sum whatever his injuries are. Lump sums are payable on death, but only by agreement to an injured workman.

They do not provide for payment of loss of wages beyond the scale in the Acts.

They do not provide for payment of hospital expenses, doctor's fees, or anything of that kind.

### **What the Acts do Provide.**

A workman to be entitled to claim must sustain injury by accident in doing something during his job which he was employed to do. That is a very short and by no means full statement of what the law is.

A workman should give immediate notice in writing to his Employer, stating the date of the accident and how it was caused. He should send the notice by registered post and keep a copy of it. That is always the wisest and safest course. If such a notice is not given at once the workman may still recover if he has given a verbal notice to his Employer or his foreman, or if the Employer knew of the accident. He may also recover, if he can show that the absence of notice does not prejudice the Employer, or if there is reasonable cause for not giving the notice. There are also one or two less general cases in which absence of notice can be excused. Nothing, however, should be left to chance. Send a written notice at once.

A claim for compensation (not necessarily a formal or written one) must be made within six months. If this is not done it can be excused on the grounds of reasonable cause or mistake.

### **Benefits.**

And after all this, what does a workman get? He must first know his average weekly earnings. This figure is not the wages for a full week, but is generally a twelve months' average. There are a number of technicalities in the way of reckoning the figures, which cannot be explained here.

If a workman's average wages are £3 or over, he gets 30/- per week during *total* incapacity. If below 25/- he gets three-quarters of his wages; if between 50/- and 25/-, he gets half-wages plus half the difference between his half-wages and 25/-; thus a man with an average wage of £2, gets half-wages £1, and half of 5/-, which makes a total of £1 2s. 6d.

If a workman is fit for light work which in most industries, only exists in the minds of judges and lawyers, it is necessary to find the difference between what he earned before and what he earns or might earn after the accident, he then gets the same

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proportion of that figure as his total disability payment bore to his average weekly earnings.

### **Death Benefits.**

There is only a claim in case of death where the death results from an accident at work, and where the workman leaves a relative dependent on his earnings. In that case the claim is for three years' wages, but not more than £300 and not less than £200. If, however, besides one or more other relatives (for example, a widow) he leaves children under 15, there are additional benefits payable in respect of the children up to a maximum of a further £300. The amount depends upon the ages of the children and, to ascertain it, very complicated arithmetical calculations have to be made which cannot be explained in detail.

If a workman leaves only partial dependants the amount is a matter of discretion and may be any amount up to the limit mentioned above.

### **Enforcing Rights.**

Before an Employer may reduce or stop a man's weekly compensation, it is necessary that the man should return to work *or* that the Employer should serve on the workman a notice that at the expiration of ten days, he intends to stop or reduce the payments. This notice must be accompanied by a Medical Report setting out the grounds which the doctor has for saying that the man has recovered or is fit for some work. The workman can serve the Employer with a certificate from his doctor, giving grounds for disagreeing with the Employer's doctor. If this certificate is sent within ten days, the Employer cannot stop the compensation without the finding of a Medical Referee or the decision of the County Court.

When a workman meets with an accident which is not trivial, he can compel the Employer to agree to his weekly payment being registered at the County Court. The forms are complicated, but the Union officials ought to know the procedure. The advantage is that the Employer cannot, after registration, stop or reduce the compensation except by agreement, unless he goes to Court and satisfies the Judge that he is entitled to do so.

### **Lump Sums.**

When a weekly payment has been continued for some time,

Insurance Companies often want to get rid of their liability by paying a lump sum. Above all other times, this is the time when a workman should be careful. He should go to his Trade Union or get advice from some other quarter. There is no fixed scale from which a workman can ascertain how much he ought to have. It is largely a matter of experience, and experience teaches that in the first instance most Insurance Companies usually offer about half the amount which they finally pay. The amount which should be accepted depends upon all sorts of considerations, such as the nature of the injuries and their probable result on the workman's opportunity of getting work, the possibility of the workman finding work, and similar matters.

It is, unfortunately, not possible to give any general advice, except that a workman should *always* seek advice before he settles.

No settlement is binding unless it is registered in the County Court, and the Registrar has various powers to make enquiries about the settlement and to refuse to record the settlement if he thinks the amount is inadequate.

### **Industrial Diseases.**

Certain diseases, such as nystagmus and lead poisoning, if caused by the employment, give rise to a claim for compensation. The list of diseases to which the Acts apply is very long, and cannot be given here, but it is only in respect of those diseases that compensation is payable. In these cases a workman should see the local factory surgeon and ask him for a certificate, or, better still, should ask his Union for assistance, as the procedure is highly technical.

### **Miscellaneous.**

There are provisions in the Act providing for medical examinations of workmen, for reference of disputed cases to Medical Referees, and many others, which all affect the workman. One should be mentioned, and that is that everyone who is engaged as a workman is within the Acts if he is engaged by way of manual labour; if not engaged in manual labour, a workman is only within the Acts if his wages do not exceed £350 per annum.

### **Generally.**

The Acts abound with all sorts of traps, reservations, restrictions, etc. It is only by the most careful study that the law on

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this subject can be understood. The vast majority of lawyers do not understand it. It cannot possibly be explained in an article of this length. Certain general hints can be given :—

- (1) Give notice at once.
- (2) Don't sign anything unless you know what you are signing.
- (3) Don't refuse offers of light work without a very good reason.
- (4) Don't destroy any papers or letters.
- (5) Don't ignore any papers sent either by the Union or the Employers.

My final word is to the Trade Union officials. You cannot, unless it is your special job, be expected to understand the "game" which is played under the Workmen's Compensation Acts. If you don't, then get your head office to deal with the case. I am convinced that with the best will in the world many settlements have been made for less than could have been obtained simply because advice has been given to a workman by someone who has not sufficient experience. Equally, and for the same reason, workmen often ask for excessive amounts, having regard to the provisions of the Acts, and thereby are misled into expecting more than they can possibly get.

### Fatal Industrial Accidents, 1924. (Exclusive of Seamen.)

Industry.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total
	12 mths.												
Total (for month)	232	227	231	203	236	152	208	192	189	205	182	230	2,487
Railway Service	28	31	24	19	20	15	30	20	17	19	20	20	264
Mines ....	101	99	110	109	104	69	91	83	82	108	88	111	1,155
Quarries over soft, deep	10	6	4	9	2	2	6	7	5	8	7	12	78
Factories, Work- shops and Places ..	91	88	90	65	110	66	77	82	83	70	66	83	971
Use or Working and Repair of Tramways ..	2	1	2	1	—	—	2	—	2	—	1	3	14
Construction and Repairing Tunnels ....	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	2
Construction and Repair of other Works ..	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	3

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# WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION 1923.

(CMD. 2306).

The following statistics refer to compensation paid during 1923 under the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1906 (including payments under the Workmen's Compensation (War Addition) Acts, 1917 and 1919), in the seven great groups of industries in which returns are called for from employers under Section 12 of the Act, viz. :—Mines, quarries, railways, factories, docks, constructional work, and shipping. The groups embrace a large proportion of the chief industries, but not by any means all. Besides the various commercial, clerical, and domestic employments to which the Act applies, there are several important industries which are not covered: for example, building, road transport, and agriculture. General statistics for 1923 are included with particulars of the Employers' Liability Act, 1880. No proceedings under the amending Workmen's Compensation Act of 1923 are included, as that Act did not take effect till 1st January, 1924.

The aggregate number of persons coming within the provisions of the Act who were employed in the seven industries was 7,342,311. The corresponding figures for the years 1915 to 1918 are not available. The figures for the preceding and subsequent years were:—

1911	...	7,305,997	1919	...	8,359,183
1912	...	7,411,005	1920	...	8,348,150
1913	...	7,509,353	1921	...	7,315,866
1914	...	7,057,111	1922	...	7,205,609

(It should be noted that the figure which the employer is asked to give is the *average* number employed *throughout* the year.)

The following tables give the total number of cases, the total compensation paid, and the total number of persons employed, together with the charge per person employed, in each of the seven industries for the years 1919-1923.

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Year.	Number of Cases.			Payments for Compensation.		
	Non-Fatal.		Total.	Fatal.	Non-Fatal.	Total.
	£	£	£	£	£	£
1911 ...	4,021*	419,031	423,052	620,155	2,436,249	3,056,404
1912 .	3,599	424,406	428,005	567,107	2,606,994	3,174,101
1913 ..	3,748	476,920	480,668	595,012	2,766,638	3,361,650
1914 .	4,216*	437,900	442,116	679,732	2,785,029	3,465,361
1919 ...	3,293	365,176	368,469	687,477	3,929,246	4,616,723
1920 .	3,531	381,986	385,517	755,657	5,222,352	5,978,009
1921 .	2,385	283,361	285,746	518,064	4,991,331	5,509,395
1922 ..	2,489	390,423	392,912	546,889	5,948,839	6,495,728
1923 ....	2,657	477,378	480,035	591,164	6,542,932	7,134,096

\* Includes cases arising from a large colliery explosion.

Total Number of Cases and Total Compensation Paid.\*

Industry.	1919.	1920.	1921.	1922.	1923.
Shipping ....	4,176 156,755*	4,799 174,607*	4,385 156,525*	4,995 180,918*	4,994 173,220*
Factories ....	185,412 2,211,683*	196,516 2,770,890*	136,979 2,463,782*	139,875 2,241,336*	170,883 2,387,417*
Docks ....	10,341 164,795*	12,080 249,264*	8,754 211,385*	9,955 224,683*	12,190 262,621*
Mines ....	145,414 1,746,769*	145,377 2,329,574*	113,329 2,257,511*	215,022 3,424,604*	262,530 3,810,661*
Quarries ....	3,010 42,674*	4,215 65,231*	3,730 65,171*	3,933 71,595*	5,348 83,640*
Constructional Work	3,168 45,563*	4,163 65,990*	3,751 66,889*	4,864 88,148*	7,077 123,934*
Railways ...	16,948 248,484*	18,367 322,453*	14,818 288,132*	14,268 264,444*	17,013 292,603*
Total ....	368,469 4,616,723*	385,517 5,987,009*	285,746 5,509,395*	392,912 6,495,728*	480,035 7,134,096*

The Total Compensation paid is shown by these figures.

**Total Number of Persons Employed and Charge per Person Employed.**

Industry.	Number of Persons Employed.					Charge per Person Employed.									
	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923					
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.					
Shipping ..	211,422	217,996	201,464	216,181	227,210	14	10	16	6	15	6	16	9	15	3
Factories ..	6,127,706	5,906,246	5,218,311	5,119,388	5,103,240	7	3	9	3	9	5	8	9	9	4
Docks ..	161,371	169,572	127,844	122,030	143,942	20	5	29	5	33	1	36	10	36	6
Mines ..	1,184,038	1,240,884	1,109,023	1,122,511	1,214,000	29	6	37	3	40	9	61	0	62	9
Quarries ..	49,235	68,792	62,722	62,781	68,979	17	4	19	0	20	9	22	10	24	3
Constructional Work	99,547	98,601	86,444	93,183	106,002	9	2	13	5	15	6	18	11	23	5
Railways ..	523,864	553,059	510,058	469,535	478,278	9	5	11	8	11	4	11	3	12	3
Total ..	8,359,183	8,348,150	7,315,866	7,205,609	7,342,311	10	6	14	4	15	1	18	0	19	5

It will be seen that the charge per person employed in mines has risen from 29s. 6d. in 1919 to 62s. 9d. in 1923. The figures for docks and constructional work shew a similar rise.

The following table groups the non-fatal cases of accident and disease according to duration of disablement.

**Duration of Compensation. (Cases of Accident and Disease.)**

Year	Percentage of terminated Cases which lasted.							
	Less than 4 weeks.		4 weeks and less than 13.		13 weeks and less than 26.		26 weeks and over.	
	Accident.	Disease.	Accident.	Disease.	Accident.	Disease.	Accident.	Disease.
1919 ....	59.56	36.56	34.76	33.22	3.73	8.04	1.95	22.18
1920 ...	58.22	31.70	35.62	30.25	3.99	10.52	2.17	27.53
1921 ...	55.16	31.26	37.05	29.96	5.28	10.28	2.51	28.50
1922 ...	55.21	33.14	38.44	39.29	4.47	7.34	1.88	20.23
1923 ....	56.97	32.04	36.94	32.47	4.18	7.39	1.91	28.10

It will be observed that there is a marked difference between the figures for accidents and disease in the number of cases lasting less than four weeks. More than half the cases of accidents come within the group of those lasting less than four weeks and less than ten per cent. lasted for 13 weeks or over. In the case of disease the number lasting less than four weeks is about one-third only of the total number, and the proportion of those lasting for 13 weeks or over averages 34 per cent.

## Summary of Payments for Compensation 1923.

INDUSTRY * (1)	NUMBER OF PERSONS EMPLOYED.				ACCIDENTS.				DISEASE.				TOTAL COMPENSA- TION, 1923.	
	Fatal Cases.		Disability Cases.		Fatal Cases.		Disease Cases.		No. Amt. (9) (10)		No. Amt. (11) (12)		(13)	
	No. (5)	Amount. (6)	No. (7)	Amount. (8)	No. (5)	Amount. (6)	No. (7)	Amount. (8)	No. (9)	Amt. (10)	No. (11)	Amt. (12)	(14)	
SHIPPING.—														
Steam Vessels ..	..	221,247	219,725	1,522	240	51,749	4,491	112,785	—	—	—	—	—	—
(Gross tonnage, 16,332,547)a														
Sailing Vessels ..	..	5,963	5,961	2	19	3,190	244	5,496	—	—	—	—	—	8,478
(Gross tonnage, 280,155)a														
Total Shipping	..	227,210	225,686	1,524	259	54,939	4,735	118,281	—	—	—	—	—	18,691,8
FACTORIES:—														
Cotton ..	556,683	198,092	348,591	25	5,951	8,634	142,953	—	—	—	—	—	—	119,138
Wool, Worsted, Shoddy ..	267,203	112,257	154,646	26	5,264	3,613	52,462	—	—	26	321	57,747	47,199	
Other Textiles ..	202,820	57,836	144,993	11	2,156	1,750	22,558	—	—	4	73	25,997	22,721	
Wood ..	163,972	73,510	56,684	26	2,684	1,750	1,750	—	—	—	—	87	120,360	
Metals (Extraction, &c.) ..	345,972	322,870	23,102	126	26,748	33,358	378,864	1	300	4	76	2,717	408,349	
Engine and Ship Building ..	315,349	33,149	13,930	92,939	22,010	22,010	311,212	—	1	300	74	1,793	334,010	
Other Metal Work ..	716,778	62,839	92,939	114	20,795	35,566	411,793	2	392	165	4,366	439,199	394,503	
Paper and Printing ..	266,222	18,626	166,596	18	4,323	4,450	66,120	—	—	17	502	70,945	73,774	
China and Earthenware ..	72,644	3,6,062	36,575	6	832	1,656	20,067	9	1,581	105	11,490	33,380	26,390	
Miscellaneous ..	2,135,639	1,299,062	836,577	201	52,101	51,888	677,016	7	1,372	552	14,264	744,743	717,141	
Total Factories	..	5,153,240	3,324,481	1,778,759	647	146,582	169,192	2,201,516	20	3,945	1,024	35,374	2,387,417	2,241,336
DOCKS ..	..	143,942	142,706	1,236	117	26,438	12,059	235,622	—	—	—	14	561	265,621
MINES ..	..	1,214,660	1,209,158	5,502	1,282	280,337	245,479	2,931,172	1	189	15,768	594,943	3,810,601	224,663
QUARRIES ..	..	68,979	68,620	359	49	11,102	5,202	72,408	—	—	7	70	83,610	342,604
CONSTRUCTIONAL WORK ..	166,002	105,912	99	53	11,510	7,004	112,050	—	—	20	374	123,934	71,595	88,148
RAILWAYS:—														
Clerical Staff ..	..	68,445	60,119	8,326	2	600	41	224	—	—	—	—	824	753
Other Railway Servants ..	..	409,833	402,112	7,721	227	5,442	16,773	235,906	—	—	11	341	201,770	263,091
Total Railways	..	478,278	462,231	16,047	229	56,042	16,773	236,220	—	—	11	341	292,663	263,444
Grand Total	..	7,342,311	5,538,794	1,803,517	2,636	587,030	460,534	5,911,269	21	4,134	16,844	631,663	7,134,096	6,495,728
Grand Total, 1922 ..	..	7,205,609	5,387,055	1,818,554	2,464	540,861	377,126	5,335,243	25	6,088	13,297	613,596	6,495,728	—

a i.e., the tonnage owned, including vessels temporarily laid up during the year.

**Memoranda Registered and Amounts of Compensation Agreed under the Workmen's Compensation Acts During the Year 1923.**

Nature of Injury.	Total Number of Memoranda Registered.	Amount of Agreed Compensation.			
		Lump Sums.		Weekly Payments.	
		Number.	Total Amount.	Number.	Total Amount of Weekly Rates.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
GREAT BRITAIN :—			£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Death, leaving dependants ...	1,996	1,985	463,835 1 3	—	—
Death, not leaving dependants ....	13	12	381 15 0	—	—
Incapacity ...	26,400	7,559	323,504 18 7	2,511	3,036 4 8
Total † ....	28,409	9,556	787,721 14 10	2,511	3,036 4 8
Total for 1922 ...	25,580	9,913	893,952 14 3	2,188	2,562 4 10

† The figures in columns (3) and (5) do not include 12,015 cases in which a lump sum was agreed upon after previous weekly payments had been made, and 4,327 case in which the agreement was for increase, diminution, or termination, &c., of weekly payments.

**Actions under the Employers' Liability Act, 1880, and Amount of Damages Awarded During the Year 1923.**

Nature of Injury.	Number of Cases disposed of	Damages Awarded.		
		Number.	Total Amount.	(4)
(1)			£ s. d.	
GREAT BRITAIN :—				
Death .... ....	7	2	1,400 0 0	
Total Incapacity .... ....	24	6	£349 1 0	
Partial Incapacity .... ....	2	—	—	
<b>Total</b> .... ....	<b>33</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1,749 1 0</b>	
Total for 1922 .... ....	35	11	3,759 10 0	

There were no cases in which compensation was awarded under Section 1 (4) of the Workmen's Compensation Act 1906.

**Applications for Arbitration and Amounts of Compensation Awarded under the Workmen's Compensation Acts During the Year 1923.**

Nature of Injury.	Total No. of Applications for Arbitration.	Number of Claims Decided.			Compensation Awarded.			
		For Applicant.	For Respondent.	Total.	Lump Sums.		Weekly Payments.	
					No.	Total Amount.	No.	Total Amount of Weekly Rates.
(1) GREAT BRITAIN :-	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	£ (7) s. d.	(8)	(9) £ s. d.
Death, leaving dependants ..	1,052	821	65	886	821	185,952 11 11	—	—
Death, not leaving dependants ..	3	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total Incapacity	3,475	1,237	524	1,761	325	27,591 15 4	912	992 0 7
Partial incapacity	1,612	636	182	818	144	7,207 4 0	492	524 19 7
<b>Total † ..</b>	<b>6,142</b>	<b>2,697</b>	<b>771</b>	<b>3,468</b>	<b>1,293</b>	<b>220,856 11 3</b>	<b>1,404</b>	<b>1,517 0 2</b>
<b>Total for 1922</b>	<b>5,343</b>	<b>2,384</b>	<b>658</b>	<b>3,042</b>	<b>1,219</b>	<b>212,085 6 2</b>	<b>1,165</b>	<b>1,133 10 8</b>

+ The figures in columns (3) to (9) do not include 182 cases in which a lump sum was awarded after previous weekly payments had been made, and 2,492 cases where weekly payments were increased, diminished, or terminated, &c., or which were otherwise disposed of (withdrawn settled out of court, &c.).

**Appeals under the Workmen's Compensation Acts.**

**(a) APPEALS TO THE COURT OF APPEAL (IN SCOTLAND THE COURT OF SESSION).**

	Total number of Appeals.	Appeals by Workmen.				Appeals by Employers.			
		Allowed.	Dismissed.	Otherwise dismissed.	Posed off.	Allowed.	Dismissed.	Otherwise dismissed.	Posed off.
(1) England and Wales .....	42	8	16	—	—	8	10	—	—
Scotland .....	15	4	5	2	—	1	1	2	—
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>—</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>—</b>
<b>Total for 1922</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>—</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>—</b>

## THE POOR LAW IN 1924

## Poor Law Statistics.

		1923		1924	
		Numbers of Recipients.	Rate per 10,000 of Population.	Numbers of Recipients.	Rate per 10,000 of Population,
January	...	972,473	560	908,894	514
February	...	960,196	553	901,123	509
March	...	924,591	533	827,934	468
April	...	957,843	552	812,058	459
May	...	896,034	516	778,439	440
June	...	889,401	512	766,044	430
July	...	947,147	546	767,614	431
August	...	900,368	519	731,249	411
September	...	905,477	522	691,729	389
October	...	916,192	528	683,229	384
November	...	868,783	491	689,417	387
December	...	842,284	479	691,800	389

In 1908 a Royal Commission on the Poor Laws was set up and, after exhaustive inquiries, issued Reports, Majority and Minority, which agreed in condemning the existing Poor Law system, especially the general mixed workhouse. Nevertheless, the Liberal Government took no action.

In 1918, the Ministry of Reconstruction set up a Departmental Committee, under the chairmanship of Sir Donald Maclean, to secure "the better co-ordination of public assistance"—a term itself significant, since it spelt the abandonment of the old idea of "the stigma of pauperism." This committee's report represented the end of the quarrel between Majority and Minority and the laying down of an agreed policy which swept the old Poor Law out of the way. It urged "the abolition of Boards of Guardians and the merging of all the functions of the Poor Law Authorities in those of the County Council and the County Borough Council," with the necessary modifications for London. The sick should go to Health Committees; the children to Education Committees; and the ablebodied to Unemployed Committees.

Once again, nothing was done. The Committee's Report (Cmd 8917), after the Coalition Government came back with its huge majority, merely lay upon the table. The institution of the Health Ministry met part of the problem; the Unemployment

Insurance Acts another part; but the co-ordination which the committee demanded never took place; Boards of Guardians were not abolished; poor law relief went on. Up to 1924, indeed, the inadequacy of the dole and the cruel device of the gap, compelled unemployed men and women to go to the Guardians. The decline in the Poor Law figures after April, 1924, was due directly to the Labour Government's improvements in the scale of relief, and to their abolition of the gap.

It remains the case that owing to the self-respecting objection of the wage-earner to go to the Guardians, innumerable men, women and children continue to suffer from severe distress rather than apply for public assistance. The report analysing the circumstances of unemployed applicants, made by the Ministry of Labour in November, 1923, states that only 10.3 per cent. of male and only 0.8 per cent. of the female applicants for unemployed benefit were in receipt of Poor Law relief.

The claim for full maintenance, steadily put forward by Labour, is a claim for a right always admitted and observed before the Industrial Revolution and the 1834 Poor Law. To-day, the whole idea underlying the "deterrent" Poor Law stands condemned, like the maintenance of the general workhouse. If the preventive services (Health, Education, etc.) are properly developed and co-ordinated, and adequate maintenance and training are given to those who are unemployed through the failures of the system, the Poor Law, as we know it, goes.

### Cost of Living.

Average Percentage Increase since July, 1914—all items.

Month. (beginning of)	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924
January ....	10-15	35	65	85-90	120	125	165	92	78	77
February ....	15	35	65-70	90	120	130	151	88	77	79
March ....	15-20	35-40	70	90	115	130	141	86	76	78
April ....	15-20	35-40	70-75	90-95	110	132	133	82	74	73
May ....	20	40-45	75	95-100	105	141	128	81	70	71
June ....	25	45	75-80	100	105	150	119	80	69	69
July ....	25	45-50	80	100-105	105-110	152	119	84	69	70
August ....	25	45-50	80	110	115	155	122	81	71	71
September ....	25	50	80-85	110	105	161	120	79	73	72
October ....	30	50-55	75-80	115-120	120	164	110	78	75	76
November ....	30-35	60	85	120-125	125	175	103	80	75	80
December ....	35	65	85	120	125	169	99	80	77	81

Note.—The drop—April, 1924, is due to the Budget, since when prices have gradually been creeping up.

## BUSINESS IN 1924

**F**ROM the business point of view 1924 was a decidedly better year than 1923, both in itself and in the signs, growing more and more marked as it wore on, of progress towards recovery and stability. The usual groans were audible, but new issues found investors with plenty of money available and ready and even eager to put it into promising ventures. Stock exchange values in general appreciated, notably in the case of miscellaneous home industrials; profits on the whole increased; British credit improved and the £ moved up in relation to the dollar.

The most important factor in the general trade recovery, as in the improvement of British credit, was Mr. MacDonald's settlement of the Reparations problem and his achievement in getting France and Germany to shake hands over the adoption and operation of the Dawes Report, coupled with the fixing of a time limit to the Ruhr occupation. A foundation was thus laid for trade recovery, of which the improvement in the last months of this year showed the effects. The textile trades, whose dependence on foreign markets are direct, are here a valuable index. In particular, the Dawes Scheme altered the American outlook towards Europe. The City Editor of the "Daily News," writing on January 1st, 1925, said:—

"At the beginning of 1924 America had no confidence in Europe, and Europe had not too much ground for confidence in her own immediate future. German industry was starving for capital; France was insisting on the Poincaré policy and the franc was heading for the sensational collapse which had to be stopped in a sort of panic in March; and other European countries were awaiting help which has since been given them."

"The buying power of Europe was then at its lowest. Even our own exchange, despite our great efforts in internal economy and taxation, was at a low point for two years."

"The Dawes scheme recreated American confidence in Europe. It made immediate help to Germany possible by way of the External Loan, of which America took a leading portion. Since then both America and ourselves have extended considerable financial help to Germany's banks and railways and industries."

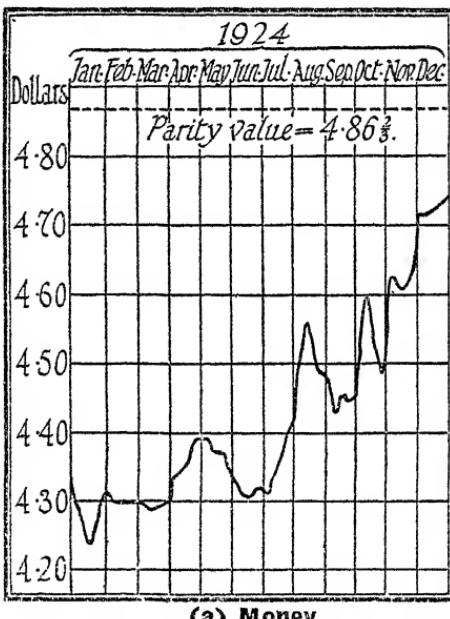
"Similarly, this restored confidence made a loan to France for defence of the franc easily successful in New York. And it has led to other large drafts of American wealth to the service of impoverished Europe until such time as they can be repaid."

The outlook might have been even better had the Labour Government been able to complete its peace work by carrying

through the Russian Treaties; as it is, the City Editor has to go on to say that "Europe is to-day many years further on the way to recovery than in the beginning of 1924, *except in regard to Russia.*" The exception is an important one, especially from the point of view of the engineering industry.

\* \* \*

From the business point of view the year may be surveyed in relation to (a) money; (b) Stock Exchange values; (c) new capital issues; (d) industrial profits; (e) bank profits; (f) prices.



(a) Money.

The rise in the exchange value of the £ is the outstanding feature of the monetary history of 1924.

After rising to 4.72 (or 3 per cent. below parity) in February, 1923, the pound fell away, and in January, 1924, was down to 4.20, or 15 per cent. below par. Exaggerated fears of the advent of a Labour Government on the one hand, and the continued adverse effect of the Ruhr dislocation on the other, mainly accounted for this depreciation. Its course since then can best be presented in graphic form on this page.

From this it is clear that between July and the middle of August—when the London settlement was signed—the exchange value of the £ in New York suddenly spurted. There was a temporary relapse; but it very soon rose again mainly because U.S. business again believed in Europe, and according to the Guaranty Trust Company of New York, the volume of foreign capital flotations in America during the first eleven months of the year exceeded the large figure of \$1,100 millions, about four-fifths of which represents new capital. The effect of these foreign loans has been, in the sober language of the official organ of the United States Federal Reserve Board, “a firm or rising tendency in the foreign exchanges, notwithstanding this autumn’s large exports and the reduced inflow of gold.”

On the last day of December, sterling rose to a dollar value of 4·74—its highest dollar value since it was released from control in March, 1919.

An instructive comment on this which should be read, also, in connection with the section on prices, was made by the City editor of the *Times* on January 5th:—

“Index numbers of prices of commodities in this country show rises ranging from 4 to 6 per cent. in the past year. In other words, the purchasing power of the pound has decreased during the period by about 5 per cent. On the other hand the gold dollar value of the pound sterling rose from about \$4.32c. to about \$4.75c., a rise of about 10 per cent. This means that, while the pound sterling depreciated in terms of commodities, the decrease in the purchasing power of gold was very much greater. It is mainly in consequence of the depreciation in the purchasing value of gold, which amounts to about 37 per cent. since 1914, that the pound sterling is so close to its gold parity. The further depreciation in the purchasing value of gold has come at an opportune moment, for at the end of this year the embargo on the export of gold expires.”

As to the part played by the banking authorities, one cannot do better than quote the account given by the *Economist* which wrote (January 3rd, 1925) :—

“The stolid immobility of bank rate, which has remained unmoved at 4 per cent. throughout the year, might suggest to a superficial observer that our monetary rulers had been passive spectators of the improvement in the currency that it is their duty to safeguard; but this was by no means so. By an arrangement, believed to have been inspired by the Bank of England, the London clearing banks agreed last July to raise the rate at which they lent money to the discount market at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., which had been the previously prevalent rate. By this simple arrangement it was possible to avoid the rise in bank rate which had been generally anticipated as probable during the course of the autumn, and at the same time to twist up the market rate of discount, which had fallen below 3 per cent. during

the first half of the year, with the result that it has during its later stages hovered in the neighbourhood of 3½ per cent., nearly ½ cent. above its level during the corresponding period of the previous year. At the same time, it was understood that the indirect assistance that had been given to the market at periods of pressure by purchases of Treasury bills and otherwise, was granted more rarely and more sparingly, and this was another incentive which made dealers in bills cautious in their purchases at low rates. By these measures it was possible to secure that London's credit facilities became substantially dearer—with the result that she was to that extent a better centre to lend to than to borrow from—while avoiding the shock and chatter that are usually produced by a rise in bank rate, and, what is much more important, the increase in the cost of such loans to industry and commerce as vary with the level of the official minimum. It was naturally inevitable that this tuning up of the discount market to concert pitch should affect the price at which the Government was able to place its weekly batch of Treasury bills; but a good wind that blows nobody any ill is rarely to be found on the financial weather map, and the appreciation in sterling has in the meantime lessened the cost of the service of our debt to America."

*Bank Clearances* in 1924 totalled £39,532 millions, a figure which constitutes a record, since it is 1.3 per cent. above that of 1920, previously the highest known, and 7.9 per cent. above 1923. The totals of bills, cheques, etc., paid at the London banks in 1923 and 1924, are as follow:—

	1923.	1924.	Increase.	%
	£	£	£	
Town Clearing ..	32,270,373,000	35,038,605,000	+ 2,768,232,000	+ 8.5
Metropolitan Clearing ..	1,546,505,000	1,594,114,000	+ 47,549,000	+ 3.0
Country Cheque Clearing ..	2,810,654,000	2,900,145,000	+ 89,491,000	+ 3.1
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	36,627,592,000	39,532,864,000	+ 2,905,272,000	+ 7.9

The most important factor in this notable increase is stated to be the more frequent turnover of money in the Short Loan market. The increase in the first quarter was 4.8 per cent.; in the second, 6.6 per cent.; in the third, 11.8 per cent.; and in the fourth, 8.8 per cent.

#### (b) Stock Exchange Values.

Holders of Stock Exchange securities did well in 1924. The fit of depression, artificially stimulated in January, 1924, soon passed off; the year ended in a buoyant mood.

The *Bankers' Magazine*, on the basis of a calculation of the market value of 365 representative securities sums up this movement of the years as showing a total *appreciation* of £262 millions, or 4.1 per cent. 1923 on the other hand showed a total depreciation of £30 millions (0.4 per cent.)

Surveying the year in detail the calculations made by the *Bankers' Magazine* show that its lowest point, so far as the values of certain securities dealt with on the Stock Exchange are concerned, was touched in January. The 365 securities chosen for comparison have a par value of £6,683,433,000. At the end of December, 1923, they were actually worth £6,256,570,000, but a month later the figure had fallen to £6,223,093,000, the drop being mainly due to sales inspired by apprehensions with regard to the advent of the Labour Government. In February, when it was becoming clear that those fears were groundless, values made a remarkable recovery, gaining £127½ millions in the four weeks. For the next seven months they alternately lost and gained. In March they depreciated, but to the extent of £7 millions only, while in April they appreciated by £75 millions. May revealed a loss of a little over £16 millions, but by the end of June values had virtually recovered to the April total. Then in July there was a drop of £60 millions, but £36 millions of that loss was regained in August. September was marked by a loss of £12 millions, but that was the last fall of the year, for in October there was a gain of virtually £33½ millions, in November one of over £25½ millions, and in December one of almost exactly £7 millions.

Out of the total £262 millions increase in values, only 1.5 per cent. (£65 millions) occurred in fixed interest stocks; variable-dividend securities rose by £197 millions or 9.4 per cent.

Further, the outstanding feature is the rise in leading Home Industrial Shares. There an appreciation of £50 millions, or no less than 15.2 per cent. is recorded. Specially interesting items are the following:—

Brewery Stocks (10), appreciated 376 per cent. (+£16,980,000.)  
 Insurance Cos. (17), appreciated 21.1 per cent. (+£22,360,000.)  
 Shipping Cos. (5), appreciated 13.7 per cent. (+£3,345,000.)  
 British Banks (13), appreciated 4 per cent. (+£9,000,000.)  
 Iron, Coal and Steel Cos. (14), declined 9.9 per cent.  
 (-£5,921,000.)

Commercial and Industrial Concerns (38), appreciated 15.2 per cent. (+£51,462,000.)

Oil Companies (10), appreciated 11.7 per cent. (+£12,885,000.)  
 Tea Companies (6) appreciated 95.2 per cent. (+£5,334,000.)

The rise in gilt edged securities has been affected by the inclination of investors to go into industrials, owing to reviving

trade prospects; nevertheless, each main group shows a moderate rise.

		Dec. 27, 1923.	Dec. 29. 1924.	Rise or Fall
2½% Consols	..... .	55½	57½	... + 2
3½% War Loan	.....	95½	97	... + 1½
4½% War Loan	.....	97	97½	... + ½
5% War Loan	.....	100	101½	... + 1½
4% War Loan (tax free)	101½	101½	..	- ½
4% Funding Loan	.....	87	89½	... + 2½
4% Victory Bonds	.....	91	93	... + 2

### (c) New Capital Issues.

The readiness of the investing public to take up new capital issues was marked in 1924. It proved not merely a general and growing confidence in trade recovery, but the existence of plenty of available money, surplus to immediate requirements, in the hands of a section of the community. Attractive new issues were again and again over-subscribed almost before the lists were opened. A notable instance of this was the German Loan in October.

Excluding British Government borrowings the total of new capital issued in 1924—£195½ millions—was slightly above the total in 1923—just under £194 millions. British Government borrowings, falling from £77½ millions in 1923 to £13½ millions in 1924, account for the apparent decline in the gross total of this year's new capital; £209,326,100 in 1924, against £271,393,200 in the previous year. These are the figures given by the *Economist*, which exclude "all issues or portions of issues made for the specific purpose of redeeming or replacing existing obligations." Their table is worth reproducing since it shows very clearly (1) the marked increase over 1923 in the amount of new capital placed at the disposal of domestic industry and commerce; (2) the absence of evidence in support of the view advanced by Mr. J. M. Keynes and others, that capital is being "exported" to an excessive degree. It is noteworthy that during 1923, despite the panic chatter about the capital levy in the early months, over £19½ millions less money was taken by Dominion and Colonial Governments than in 1923; and of the £14½ millions more than in that year taken by foreign governments, nearly the whole was ear-marked for reconstruction purposes. Thus Japan borrowed £13 millions for earth-

quake damage repair; Czechoslovakia in May, and Hungary in July, for reconstruction; Germany, in October (£12 millions) under the Dawes plan; the Greek Refugee Loan of December, was, like that for Hungary, under the ægis of the League of Nations. Whereas in 1913, four-fifths of the new capital raised in London was destined for overseas, in 1924 only one half was.

## DESTINATION OF NEW CAPITAL.

	Whole Years.					
	1912.	1913.	1921.	1922.	1923.	1924.
United Kingdom						
Government	£	£	£	£	£	£
Other ..	45,335,300	35,951,200	202,896,300	369,628,100	77,536,300	13,776,200
	45,335,300	35,951,200	276,176,500	443,518,300	133,915,600	84,612,400
British Possessions—						
Government	£	£	£	£	£	£
Other ..	14,673,100	26,278,700	73,650,000	58,582,300	69,409,300	50,081,000
	57,069,300	49,858,500	16,927,800	16,341,900	23,313,000	22,195,900
	72,642,400	76,137,200	99,577,800	74,924,200	92,722,900	72,276,900
Foreign Countries—						
Government	£	£	£	£	£	£
Other ..	9,584,500	26,158,200	5,905,000	14,254,100	26,461,000	40,619,900
	83,287,800	58,290,400	16,318,900	46,979,000	18,292,800	11,816,900
	92,872,300	84,448,600	22,223,900	55,233,100	44,754,700	52,436,800
Grand total	210,850,000	196,537,000	388,978,200	573,675,600	271,393,200	209,326,100

Among the notable domestic new issues of the year were Allied Newspapers 8 per cent. Preference (£4½ millions) in April; Lever Bros., 7½ Preference (£5 millions) in June; Harland and Wolff, 6 per cent. Preference (£4 millions) in July; and Armstrong Whitworth, 6½ Debentures (£3 millions) in December.

## (d) Industrial Profits.

The most valuable index of business prosperity is, of course, Industrial Profits. They show for 1924, the same "healthy" tendency evidenced by Stock Exchange values; and these two factors taken together demonstrate, beyond the possibility of doubt, that capital had a good year and that no justification whatever can be found in its returns for the clamour for reducing the element in cost of production represented by wages.

The *Economist* (January 10th) states:—"Our quarterly analysis of the profits of industrial companies shows *an increase for the ninth quarter in succession.*" Ever since the end of 1922, in fact, industrial profits have been going up. Taking the profit and loss accounts published by 312 representative

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industrial concerns, it is found that their net profits for the year ending December 31st, 1924, totalled £139,362,273, i.e., £8,602,849 or 6.6 per cent. more than in 1923. Each quarter of the year showed an increase; it was most marked in the last, when a gain of £3,473,729 or 13.3 per cent. was harvested.

## NET PROFITS IN 1923 AND 1924.

	No. of Companies.	1923.	1924.	Increase. £	%
First Quarter ..	410	37,155,048	40,382,901	3,227,853	8.7
Second Quarter ..	466	49,794,417	51,292,944	1,498,527	3.0
Third Quarter ..	214	17,667,060	18,069,800	402,740	2.3
Fourth Quarter ..	312	26,142,899	29,616,628	3,473,729	13.3
	1,411	130,759,424	139,362,273	8,602,849	6.6

After the boom of 1920, declines in the rate of increase of profits were, of course, recorded in 1921 and the first three quarters of 1922. The increase of 1924, according to the *Economist*, "restores the 1921 level."

When this general upward movement is analysed it is seen that increased profits have been secured by all but four groups. Rubber company profits declined 23.3 per cent. in 1924; but in 1923 they had an increase of 384 per cent. and could hardly be expected to improve on that. Iron, Steel and Coal also declined (3 per cent.) after a big increase in 1923.

## NET PROFITS (AFTER PAYMENT OF DEBENTURE INTEREST, &c.).

	No. of Companies.	Reports Published in Quarter Ended Dec. 31. 1923.	1924.	Increase.		Decrease	
				£	%	£	%
Breweries ..	45	2,194,826	2,674,237	479,411	21.8	—	—
Hotels, restaurants, &c. ..	8	436,022	543,723	107,701	24.8	—	—
Iron, coal & steel ..	24	2,242,066	2,173,797	—	—	68,269	3.0
Land, mortgage, &c. ..	25	1,605,348	2,018,474	413,126	25.7	—	—
Motor & Cycle ..	13	457,329	611,543	154,214	33.7	—	—
Nitrate ..	6	130,436	275,441	136,005	97.8	—	—
Oil ..	4	3,087,223	2,988,164	—	—	99,059	3.2
Rubber, &c. ..	71	589,346	452,114	—	—	137,232	23.3
Shipping ..	6	1,419,188	1,564,373	145,185	10.3	—	—
Shops & stores ..	5	293,256	306,710	103,454	35.2	—	—
Tea ..	88	131,225	138,112	6,887	5.2	—	—
Telegraphs, &c. ..	5	300,092	514,224	154,132	42.6	—	—
Textiles ..	6	3,112,090	3,301,713	189,623	6.1	—	—
Tramways ..	4	366,467	417,863	51,396	14.0	—	—
Trust ..	12	481,320	466,988	—	—	14,341	3.0
Miscellaneous ..	70	9,227,056	11,079,152	1,851,496	20.0	—	—
	312	26,142,899	29,616,628	3,473,729	13.3	—	—

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No inspection of profits gives a true picture until it is accompanied by an examination of what is done in the way of allocation to reserve. The average allocation, in 1924, was 59.7 per cent. of net profits to Ordinary dividend, 19.5 per cent. to Preference dividend, and 20.8 per cent. to reserve. In the next table, allocation to the Ordinary and Preference dividends and to reserve in the last quarter of the year is shown :—

	Net Profits £	Ordinary Dividend £	%	Pref. Dividend £	%	To Reserve, &c. £	%
Breweries .....	2,674,237	1,291,159	48.2	550,108	20.6	832,970	31.2
Hotels, Restaurants, &c .....	543,723	259,391	47.6	133,337	24.5	150,905	27.9
Iron, coal, and steel .....	2,173,797	658,472	30.3	767,906	35.2	747,419	34.5
Land, mortgage, &c .....	2,018,474	1,081,872	53.7	278,233	13.8	658,369	32.5
Motor and cycle .....	611,543	296,956	48.5	57,032	9.4	256,961	42.1
Nitrate .....	275,441	147,855	53.7	—	—	127,586	46.3
Oil .....	2,988,164	1,228,619	41.1	875,000	29.3	884,545	29.6
Rubber, &c .....	452,114	399,759	88.4	16,138	3.6	36,217	8.0
Shipping .....	1,564,373	760,310	48.5	228,187	14.5	575,876	37.0
Shops and stores .....	398,710	164,720	41.4	220,217	55.6	11,773	3.0
Tea .....	138,112	91,753	66.5	27,298	19.7	19,001	13.8
Telegraph, &c .....	514,224	333,752	64.8	—	—	180,472	35.2
Textiles .....	3,301,713	2,663,739	80.7	401,798	12.2	236,176	7.1
Tramways .....	417,863	243,591	58.1	72,000	17.2	102,272	24.7
Trusts .....	466,988	205,395	44.0	139,095	29.7	122,498	26.3
Miscellaneous .....	11,079,152	7,374,331	66.6	1,329,865	12.0	2,374,956	21.4
	29,616,628	17,201,668	58.1	5,096,814	17.2	7,318,146	24.7

The very high proportions allocated to reserve by motor companies (42 per cent.); iron, coal and steel companies (34.5 per cent.); and breweries (31.2 per cent.) are notable.

### An Average 10 Per Cent.

So far we have been dealing mainly with the *rate of increase in profits*—capital, be it noted, expects its return to go steadily up. Turn now to the actual earnings of capital, which shows the ratio of net profits and of reserve to total ordinary and preference capital.

1924.	Total Ord. and Pref. Capital. £		Net Profits. £	% %	Carried to Reserve, &c. £		% %
	Capital. £	Net Profits. £			Carried to Reserve, &c. £		
First quarter .....	390,545,000	40,382,901	10.3	9,021,413	2.3		
Second quarter .....	517,002,000	51,292,944	9.9	8,674,605	1.7		
Third quarter .....	186,170,600	18,069,800	9.7	4,037,427	2.2		
Fourth quarter .....	260,143,703	29,616,628	11.4	7,318,146	2.8		
	1,353,861,303	139,362,273	10.3	29,051,591	2.2		

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The average rate of profit earned by capital in the last few years is as follows :—

1920	..	15.2%	1923	..	9.8%
1921	..	10.3%	1924	..	10.3%
1922	..	7.0%			

In the last quarter of 1924 the average rates paid on debenture, preference and ordinary capital in each industrial group were as follows :—

	Debenture Capital	Rate of Interest	Preference Capital	Rate of Dividend	Ordinary Capital	Rate of Dividend	Year Ago	Rate of Dividend
					Capital			
Breweries ..	15,014,201	4.7	9,366,167	5.9	9,354,433	13.8	12.4	
Hotels., Rstnts, &c.	2,718,615	4.4	2,360,000	5.6	2,398,750	10.8	8.0	
Iron, coal and steel	15,565,512	5.8	15,575,435	4.9	38,303,796	1.7	2.3	
Land, mortgage, &c.	8,867,438	4.2	6,156,717	4.5	10,174,290	10.6	7.2	
Motor and cycle	—	—	1,464,790	3.9	3,464,305	8.6	9.5	
Nitrate ..	308,780	5.4	—	—	1,449,000	10.2	6.8	
Oil ..	7,242,602	5.7	10,500,000	8.3	12,195,455	10.1	8.6	
Rubber, &c. ..	340,902	6.2	362,332	4.4	8,128,447	4.9	6.6	
Shipping ..	10,323,010	4.4	4,641,100	4.9	6,465,898	11.8	11.7	
Shops and Stores ..	1,815,200	5.6	2,847,849	7.8	4,816,183	3.4	9.3	
Tea ..	41,000	5.0	218,885	12.5	319,836	28.7	28.5	
Telegraph, &c ..	1,194,550	4.1	—	—	3,096,085	9.0	11.1	
Textiles ..	1,664,452	6.6	6,840,000	5.9	16,186,525	16.5	16.4	
Tramways ..	4,483,670	3.8	1,865,553	3.9	4,224,748	4.9	6.6	
Trust ..	3,002,197	3.6	3,352,034	4.1	3,172,582	6.5	7.9	
Miscellaneous ..	7,422,457	5.3	21,853,045	6.1	48,389,463	15.2	14.1	
	80,004,586	4.9	87,403,907	5.8	172,739,796	10.0	9.6	

Next a survey of actual profits of a large number of representative companies may be given, in 1924 and 1923.

## (d) Industrial Profits.

Shipping, Shipbuilding, etc.	1924.	1923.	King ..
	$\text{£}$	$\text{£}$	$\text{£}$
Anchor Line ..	21,261	23,238	Lamport & Holt ..
Argentine Navgtn	163,785	*16,304	Lancs. Shipping ..
Cairn ..	..	1,517	Manchester Liners ..
Court ..	..	84,969	Manch'r S. Canal ..
Cunard ..	..	761,136	Nautilus Steam...
Elder, Dempster	528,095	536,107	Nitrate Producers ..
France, Fenwick	83,494	81,530	Orient ..
Furness, Withy	572,443	552,511	P. and O. ..
Houlder Bros. ..	126,953	106,987	Prince ..
India Gen. Navgtn.	47,407	34,465	Royal Mail ..
Irvine's Shipbldng.	*699	22,638	Smith's Dock ..
Isle of Man Steam	43,038	31,564	Swan, Hunter ..
			Thornycroft (J. I.) ..
			White Star ..

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## Coal, Iron, Engineering, etc.

	1924.	1923.
Agric'al, &c., Eng.	6,884	*10,430
Albion Motor	46,157	10,945
Arms'g, Whit't	436,377	467,550
Babcock & Wilcox	753,063	787,600
Baldwins	493,520	484,760
Barrow Hematite	110,623	105,108
Beardmore Wm.)	*68,072	97,167
Beyer, Peacock...	*60,001	46,617
Birmingham S.A.	250,321	*46,205
Bolckow, Vaughan	84,677	*269,233
British Aluminium	215,345	109,012
British Ins., &c., Cables	...	347,695
British Thomson- Houston	451,778	494,592
Brown (John) ...	212,231	212,294
Brush Electrical	94,860	247,837
Callender's Cable	264,086	251,788
Cammell, Laird	70,054	145,906
Cargo Fleet Iron	100,940	96,946
Coltness Iron ...	46,814	213,038
	(5 months)	
Consett Iron ...	421,628	245,492
	(9 months.)	
Consolid. Camb'an	29,605	37,362
Cory (William)...	577,986	588,194
Crossley Bros. ...	*89,056	*66,259
Crossley Motors	*62,615	*97,584
Davis (D.) & Sons	95,533	48,543
Dobson & Barlow	70,781	266,512
	(1921-2.)	
Dorman, Long ...	504,984	275,454
Ebbw Vale Steel	305,421	52,673
English Electric	261,793	262,666
Fairbairn, Lawson	19,727	179,881
Fife Coal ...	281,082	274,890
General Electric	835,561	751,486
Gt. Western Col.	119,526	15,655
Guest, Keen ...	874,743	844,919
Hadfields ...	106,510	187,250
Henley's Telegraph	253,727	249,351
Hetherington (J.)	21,405	183,507
Horden Collieries	263,630	345,903
Howard & Bullough	167,988	597,247
Humber ...	127,122	123,928
Lochgelly Iron and Coal ...	128,832	124,618
Mather & Platt	325,291	365,535
Metropoli'n-Vickers	140,963	225,057
Nth. British Loco.	*43,404	35,751
North's Navigat'n	112,700	39,756
Park Gate Iron	8,105	*36,226
Partington Steel	4,801	258,579
Pearson & Knowles	29,681	89,818
Pease & Partners	341,631	218,25
Platt Bros. ...	372,322	735,951
Powell Duffryn	523,762	235,803
Radiation ...	169,152	160,309
Richardsons, West- garth	...	179,133
Rivet, Bolt, &c....	39,673	*4,291
Rolls-Royce ...	163,673	156,708
Ruston & Hornsby	85,810	91,494
Sheepbridge ...	129,738	123,300
Sth. Durham Steel	106,644	182,109
Standard Motor	144,064	84,933
Stanton Iron ...	149,337	175,604
Staveley ...	365,537	304,912
Stewarts & Lloyds	459,426	522,078
Thomas (Richard)	523,627	396,302
Tredegar ...	249,734	234,022
United Collieries	240,103	139,149
United Nat. Colls.	132,719	131,829
United Steel ...	530,302	504,633
Vickers ...	499,555	683,205
Weardale Steel	166,221	263,818
Wigan Coal & Iron	102,214	80,992
Willy's Overland	1,305	11,014
Wolseley Motors	*327,263	*77,621
<b>Textiles.</b>		
Amal. C.M. Trust	210,288	207,205
		(11 months.)
Ashton Bros. ...	*37,283	*79,909
Barlow & Jones	125,963	118,444
Barry, Ostlere ...	329,701	326,428
Bleachers ...	795,378	788,464
Bradford Dyers	1,032,152	1,800,209
		(2 years.)
<b>British C. and W.</b>		
Dyers ...	201,437	229,223
British Dyestuffs	251,423	102,657
Calico Printers	540,786	800,208
Coats (J. & P.)	3,107,213	2,889,960
Courtaulds ...	2,916,950	3,018,432
Crosses & Wink- worth	...	9,254
English Sewing	...	174,147
Cotton	...	639,705
English Velvet		
Dyers ...	65,218	75,749
Fine Spinners	1,038,574	943,460
Haslam (John)	104,904	92,433
Henry (A. & S.)	195,881	222,025
		(2 years.)

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	1924.	1923.	1924	1923
Holden (Isaac)	97,066	199,843	Shell Transport	3,008,184 4,633,160
Hollins (William)	108,122	125,092	Trinidad Leaseholds	205,230 133,240
Hoyle (Joshua)	194,117	193,167		
Linen Thread ...	294,050	187,154	<b>Various Industries.</b>	
Linoleum Mfg.	190,599	166,669	Aerated Bread ...	154,939 131,149
Lister & Co. ...	249,494	165,485	African & Eastern	442,353 739,774
Lloyd's Packing	151,041	156,390	Assoc. Portland	
Patons & Baldwins	361,686	688,543	Cement ...	582,328 675,396
Porritts & Spencer	68,109	84,627	Borax ...	442,753 417,900
Roberts (J. F. & H.)	45,121	68,343	Bovril ...	351,898 305,709
Samnugger Jute	306,066	279,380	British American	
Titaghur Jute ...	299,015	268,614	Tobacco ...	4,866,266 4,494,472
Tootal Broadhurst	130,724	145,924	Brit. Elec. Tract.	233,250 216,929
United Turkey Red	210,263	*56,184	Brit. Motor Cab	3,590 *13,167
Victoria Jute ...	160,483	152,475	Brit. Oil & Cake	239,167 305,872
Wilkinson & Riddell	86,090	80,740	British Portland	
Woolcombers ...	141,615	276,604	Cement ...	449,419 451,223
<b>Warehousemen and Drapers.</b>				
Barker (John) ...	402,433	362,382	British United Shoe	
Bon Marché ...	88,528	86,356	Mach. ...	262,603 212,489
Bradley's ...	117,410	103,654	Brunner, Mond	1,553,574 1,650,295
Cook, Son & Co.	304,272	316,166	Bryant & May ...	295,694 273,523
Dickins & Jones	102,828	86,163	Burberrys ...	98,823 91,708
Evans (D. H.) ...	123,324	126,974	Castner-Kellner	288,052 263,187
Gamage A. W.) ...	45,684	48,165	Consolid. G'l'df'lds	271,768 227,430
	(11 months.)	(13 months.)	Crosse & Blackwell	*85,141 *180,639
Harrods ...	567,800	484,120		(10 months.)
Harrods (Buenos Ayres) ...	186,267	97,501	Dalgety ...	323,988 254,162
Hope Bros. ...	81,012	76,456	De Beers ...	1,441,635 1,688,206
Liberty & Co. ...	61,795	44,482	Debenture Cor'p'n	150,688 116,387
Philips (J. & N.)	157,651	176,330	Dickinson (John)	153,843 134,401
Robinson (Peter)	112,145	107,172	De Trey & Co.	128,167 94,827
Rotherham (Jeremiah) ...	110,015	121,989	Freeman, Hardy	180,428 175,197
Rylands (Feb.)	125,664	127,064	Gas, Light, and	
Rylands (July)	141,600	129,591	Coke ...	1,378,811 1,520,183
Selfridge & Co.	332,052	320,310	Gramophone ...	229,646 283,769
Spencer, Turner, &c.	69,115	67,831	Harrison's and	
Whiteway, Laid-law ...	167,201	106,272	Croftield's ...	242,475 192,711
Whiteley (Wm.)	229,064	240,295	Hudson's Bay ...	310,417 348,441
<b>Oils and Tankers.</b>			Imperial Tobacco	7,474,687 7,199,977
Anglo-American	621,888	747,063	India Rubber, &c.	101,317 96,344
Anglo-Persian	2,507,867	2,689,143	"Johnnies" (Min'g)	746,247 503,841
British Burmah	52,099	73,530	Knight (John) ...	147,166 151,315
Burmah ...	2,203,896	2,115,823	Levant ...	10,368 *638,515
Eagle Transport	936,240	1,237,277		(2 years.)
Mexican Eagle (M.S.) ...	19,598,395	26,815,704	Lever Bros. ...	5,071,978 4,625,018
			Leyland, &c.,	
			Rubber ...	78,739 83,802
			Liebig's Extract	228,819 121,532
				(5 months.)
			Lipton ...	292,245 337,057
			L'pool. Nitrate	108,157 41,009

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	1924.	1923.	<b>Breweries, Distilleries and Hotels.</b>	
	(2 years.)		1924.	1923.
Lloyd (Edward)	195,639	182,690	Allsopp (Samuel)	95,442
Lovel & Christmas	149,271	145,723	Barclay, Perkins	216,625
Lyons (J.) & Co.	665,377	631,816	Bass, Ratcliffe ...	543,857
Mackintosh (John)	111,795	176,193	Benskin's, Watf'd	104,572
Mandleberg (J.) & Co. ...	55,074	67,683	Bents' ... ...	62,688
Maple & Co. ...	256,489	215,415	Bieckert's ...	164,835
Mappin & Webb	23,817	34,964	Boddington's ...	68,276
Marconi Marine	85,315	171,848	Bristol ... ...	151,777
Marconi Wireless	172,543	302,948	Cameron (J. W.)	112,634
Maypole Dairy ...	439,794	473,933	Cannon ...	295,485
Meadow Dairy ...	235,839	212,210	Chesters ...	108,135
Mond Nickel ...	276,458	307,774	City of London	176,610
Morton (C. & E.)	73,346	9,101	Distillers ...	677,914
Nobel Industries	1,178,443	1,157,137	Gordon Hotels ...	84,448
Patent Tyre ...	175,684	86,157		30,525
		(16 months.)		(7 months.)
Peek, Frean ...	215,266	201,665	Groves & Whitnall	193,346
Peruvian Corp'n.	455,790	356,885	Guinness	
Phillips (Godfrey)	57,927	54,058	(Arthur) ...	2,389,624
Prov. Cinemat'g's.	146,432	49,906	Holt's ... ...	2,011,910
Rio Tinto ...	729,649	670,456	Hull Brewery ...	94,469
Salt Union ...	280,187	207,878	Ind, Coope & Co.	109,333
Sears (J.) & Co.	169,695	126,378	Marston, Thompson	146,244
Smithfield, &c.,			Mitchells & Butlers	97,141
Meat ...	264,113	118,037	Parker's, Burslem	413,433
Stead & Simpson	70,418	63,217	Phipps (P.) & Co.	118,571
Steel Bros. ...	411,102	550,900	Salt (Thomas) ...	99,980
Trafford Pk. Estates	35,880	56,442	Savoy Hotel ...	42,650
Travers (Joseph)	97,678	89,765	Spiers & Pond ...	33,931
Union Cold Str'ge	726,904	581,589	Strand Hotel ...	230,465
United Alkali ...	352,332	578,217	Threlfall's ...	107,746
		(2 years.)	Watney, Combe	220,238
United Dairies ...	506,542	468,623	Whitbread & Co.	295,269
United Tobacco	622,685	598,945	Wilson's ...	857,176
Wallpaper ...	751,852	635,681	Wolverhampton,	845,996
Waring & Gillow	134,477	111,866	&c. ... ...	92,519
Waterlow & Sons	198,656	114,910	Worthington & Co.	138,844

### (e) Bank Profits.

The figures for the principal Banks, disclosed in the first weeks of the New Year, show a prosperous state of things. Net profits are in most cases higher than in either 1923 or 1922. Four of the Big Five show net profits above £2 millions

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and the fifth is close on the million mark. The following table compares net profits for 1922, 1923 and 1924:—

	1922.		1923.		1924.	
	Profits. £	Div. %	Profits. £	Div. %	Profits. £	Div. %
Barclays ....	1,873,731	A10 B14	1,891,066	A10 B14	2,067,281	A10 B14
Lloyds ...	2,068,875	16 $\frac{2}{3}$	2,047,116	16 $\frac{2}{3}$	2,468,934	16 $\frac{2}{3}$
Midland ...	2,253,492	18	2,210,972	18	2,424,092	18
National Provincial	1,854,190	16	1,791,287	16	1,974,043	16
Westminster ....	1,888,021	20	1,804,783	20	2,013,502	20
		12 $\frac{1}{2}$		12 $\frac{1}{2}$		12 $\frac{1}{2}$
Bank of Liverpool and Martin's	504,802	16	486,966	16	530,442	16
District ....	465,245	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	428,606	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	448,073	18 $\frac{1}{2}$
Lancashire and Yorkshire ....	236,843	20	240,302	20	242,957	20
Manch. and County	226,108	16 $\frac{1}{2}$	190,105	16 $\frac{1}{2}$	193,393	16 $\frac{1}{2}$
Williams, Deacon's	337,175	A13 $\frac{1}{2}$ B12 $\frac{1}{2}$	327,247	A13 $\frac{1}{2}$ B12 $\frac{1}{2}$	338,893	A13 $\frac{1}{2}$ B12 $\frac{1}{2}$

An important point is the allocation to reserve which, in 1924, was as follows:—

Barclays ....	...	...	...	£250,000
Lloyds ....	...	...	...	—
Midland ....	...	...	...	£25,000
National Provincial	...	...	...	£279,416
Westminster ....	...	...	...	£200,000

Dividend rates have remained unchanged, although in various cases the capital has increased on which dividends have to be paid. The dividend figures speak for themselves.

\* \* \* \* \*

The three great London Discount Houses show net profits above 1923, though below their "record" year—1922, and maintain their high dividend:—

	1922.		1923.		1924.	
	Profits. £	Div. %	Profits. £	Div. %	Profits. £	Div. %
Alexanders Discount...	188,202	20	136,208	20	136,510	20
National Discount ....	190,682	..	108,225	A10 B23	159,545	A10 B23
Union Discount ....	316,070	20	248,993	20	253,753	20
	694,954	....	493,426	..	549,808	..

## (f) Prices.

Wholesale prices, at the end of 1924, reached the highest point recorded since September, 1921. According to the *Economist* index number, wholesale prices at the end of 1924 were very nearly 90 per cent. above 1914. If July, 1914, be taken as 100, wholesale prices in December, 1924, stood at 189.3. In 1924, both wholesale and retail prices fell steadily from February to May and June. In July there was a sharp upward turn, and in September and again in October, another. The year's movement is set out in the following table, which shows a close correspondence, so far as fluctuations go, between wholesale and retail prices :—

1924.	Wholesale ( <i>Economist</i> )	Retail— Cost of Living (Min. of Labour)
End of January	181.8	179
February	182.0	178
March	181.0	173
April	180.8	171
May	176.5	169
June	176.6	170
July	181.6	171
August	180.4	172
September	184.4	176
October	189.0	180
November	188.4	181
December	189.3	180
<b>July, 1914</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

The rise is more or less general, but especially marked in relation to certain groups. Cotton textiles, which accounted for most of the advance in wholesale prices in 1923, have fallen, but their decline has been more than offset by the rise in wool and other textiles. An important factor was the increase in cereal prices in the second half of the year. Of "other foods," tea and coffee are both up; on the other hand, there has been a sharp fall in sugar prices, due in part to the reduction in the duty in Mr. Snowden's Budget, in part to an abundant crop. Tea and coffee are cheaper than they would have been but for the Labour Budget; but restriction of output has been used to inflate prices and profits, with the result that the consumer has not got the benefits intended for him by the Chancellor.

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The following table, from the *Economist*, shows the movement of prices for the various main groups used in the construction of their index number throughout 1924, and at leading earlier dates:—

End of—	Cereals & Meat.	Other Food.	Textiles.	Minerals.	Miscel- laneous.	Total.
July, 1914 .....	100	100	100	100	100	100.0
Dec., 1918 .....	226	222	293	186	241	237.5
Dec., 1919 .....	249	250	396	247	263	287.1
Mar., 1920 .....	261	260	484	269	309	325.6
Dec. , „ .....	233	229	209	261	230	230.9
Dec., 1921 .....	159	180	180	164	168	169.6
June, 1922 .....	174	192	184	149	160	171.1
Sept. „ .....	151	194	181	150	148	163.3
Dec. „ .....	149	200	193	152	146	166.2
June, 1923 .....	141	220	191	167	137	167.7
Dec. „ .....	148	231	225	167	136	178.6
Mar., 1924 .....	155	240	213	173	141	181.0
April „ .....	156	228	221	170	141	180.8
May „ .....	157	208	220	162	140	176.5
June „ .....	158	210	219	164	139	176.6
July „ .....	164	208	231	167	140	181.6
Aug. „ .....	162	211	225	168	140	180.4
Sept. „ .....	173	221	226	164	143	184.4
Oct. „ .....	177	224	234	169	146	189.0
Nov. „ .....	174	228	231	172	145	188.4
Dec. „ .....	171	224	235	175	146	189.3

## OVERCAPITALISATION.

One or two striking instances can be given, for 1924, of a process which in in 1919-20 was one of the main methods for the absorption of war-profits by the capitalist class, and goes on constantly. This is the process of 'watering,' and increasing the shareholders' return at the expense both of the producer and the consumer.

In the cotton trade 'recapitalisation' at inflated values in 1919-20, in the words of an expert in the M.G. Commercial (Jan. 27th, 1921) affected more than 200 spinning and weaving concerns. "This recapitalisation, by which shareholders and speculators benefited to the extent of many millions of pounds, has made it compulsory for much larger profits than formerly to be

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made." A capital of 238 firms was increased from £10 to £33 millions (without any change in real assets) and profits had thus to be paid on three times as much capital as before.

The same process went on in the Iron and Steel Trade.

### **The "Big Three."**

As representative of a general process, take three groups with a capitalisation of over £20 millions, Imperial Tobacco, Shell and Courtaulds.

	Capital 1914.	Capital 1924.	Bonus Distributed.
Imperial Tobacco	... £15,642,435	£42,809,633	£13,010,162
Shell	... ... £10,000,000	£26,305,144	£3,000,000
Courtaulds	... ... £2,000,000	£20,000,000	£9,999,913

The following table records the history of Ordinary (Tax free) Dividends, and Bonus Distribution.

	Imperial Tobacco.	Courtaulds.	Shell.
1914	35%	12½%	35%
1915	40%	20	35
1916	22½% & Cap. Bonus	30	Subject to tax
	100%		
1917	22½%	30	35% & Cap. Bonus
			60%
1918	16½% & Cap. Bonus	32½	35
		50%	
1919	15% (one for each offered at par)	40% & Cap. Bonus	35
		100	
1920	17½% (one share for every three offered at £2)	23½% & Cap. Bonus	35
		200	
1921	17½%	11½	27½
1922	15% plus 7½% bonus	15	22½
1923	15% plus 5% bonus	15	22½
	& 33½% cap. bonus		
1924	15% plus 7½% bonus	20% & Cap. Bonus	(int. 10%)
		66½	

(See also § on Concentration of Capital).

## BUSINESS INTERESTS IN PARLIAMENT

**T**HIS table indicates the extent and nature of the business interests in Parliament. It refers to the situation immediately after the election in October, 1924. Alterations have of course taken place since, including those caused by the resignation of Ministers from Boards of Directors on which they had seats at the time of election.

Section.	No. of Companies.	No. of Directorships held by Members of Parliament.			
		U.	Lib.	Lab.	Total
1. Banking ... ...	14	16	4	1	21
2. Chemical ... ...	13	9	4	—	13
3. Iron, Steel & Coal	32	10	12	—	31
4. Engineering ...	39	35	4	—	39
5. Food ... ...	15	15	—	—	15
6. Insurance ... ...	41	45	2	1	48
7. Land, Finance and Investment ...	34	31	5	—	36
8. Liquor & Hotels ...	26	29	—	—	29
9. Mining & Metals ...	20	21	1	—	22
10. Newspaper and Publishing ...	26	26	4	—	30
11. Oil ... ...	15	15	3	—	18
12. Paper, Printing, &c.	16	16	—	—	16
13. Public Utility ...	45	45	1	—	46
14. Plantation ...	5.	4	1	—	5
15. Railway & Canal	15	16	2	—	18
16. Shipping & Dock	29	23	7	—	30
17. Textile ...	26	28	—	—	28
18. Theatres ...	12	12	—	—	12
19. Miscellaneous ...	78	77	6	—	83
<b>Totals ...</b>	<b>501</b>	<b>482</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>540</b>

## MARRIAGES AND DIVORCES, 1913-23

## ENGLAND AND WALES.

Year.	Number of Marriages.	Persons Married per 1,000 of Population.	Divorces.
1913	286,583	15.7	577
1919	369,411	19.7	1,654
1920	379,982	20.2	3,090
1921	320,852	16.9	3,522
1922	299,524	15.7	2,588
1923	292,408	15.2	2,667

## THE DISTRIBUTION OF CAPITAL AND INCOME IN GREAT BRITAIN

THE gross inequalities in the distribution of wealth which characterise capitalist society are by many taken as inevitable and in the nature of things. Others, however, believe that until a more equitable distribution has been obtained and causes of unequal distribution eradicated, human society will not be free from the miseries that afflict it to-day. Professor Marshall, the founder of the Cambridge School of Economics, has said "*there is no real necessity, and therefore no moral justification for extreme poverty side by side with great wealth.*"

It has often been pointed out that our present national wealth, if evenly divided among the individuals of the nation, would not be sufficient to raise the weekly wage of the lowest paid by more than three or four shillings. This argument, however, is irrelevant for two reasons :—

(1) With social ownership of the means of production, *national wealth could be greatly increased.*

(2) Socialists do not propose to divide arithmetically.

Since the productive power of man increased tenfold in the last century through inventions, the chief reasons for this low level of national wealth is :—

(1) Ownership by individuals of the means of production (land, minerals, transport, etc.) and their restrictive use of their monopoly power.

(2) Inequality in distribution reacting on production.

The subject of distribution of wealth is, at present, impossible to treat as an exact science. Much of the material available refers to the pre-war period and therefore can only serve as indications as to the present position. Certain figures, however, have been produced which can be taken in as scientific and impartial.

### Distribution of Wealth.

The Report of the Select Committee on the Increase of War Wealth contains a memorandum drawn up by the Board of Inland Revenue which may be taken as a basis for investigation into the distribution of capital. The Board accepted Sir Josiah Stamp's estimate of the total pre-war wealth of £11,000,000,000. The net total increase of war wealth they themselves estimated

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as £4,180,000,000. The Board gave their estimate for the total national wealth as £15,180,000,000, and in the following table they showed how in their opinion this wealth was divided amongst individuals :—

Classification in individual ranges of total wealth of individuals whose total wealth has increased with numbers of individuals and total post-war wealth.

Ranges of Total Wealth Exceeding	No. of Individuals.	Total Post-War Wealth.
£	£	£
—	5,000	3,948,000,000
5,000	10,000	1,054,000,000
10,000	25,000	1,909,000,000
25,000	50,000	1,500,000,000
50,000	100,000	1,241,000,000
100,000	250,000	1,400,000,000
250,000	500,000	884,000,000
500,000	750,000	351,000,000
750,000	1,000,000	169,000,000
1,000,000	—	590,000,000
Totals		13,046,000,000

The above table may be taken as official, being the estimate of the Board of Inland Revenue. There is one fact though that has to be taken into account. The Board has not included those individuals whose total wealth was reduced through the war. Hence the total in the above table is £13,046,000,000, whereas they reckon the total material wealth amounts to £15,180,000,000. Sir Josiah Stamp, in dealing with the remaining £2,000,000,000, assumes that they belong to the "new poor" and suggests spreading them on the same line of distribution, which gave him the following table :—

Fortune in £ under :—	No. of Individuals.	Total Wealth £ :—
5,000	...	4,555,000,000
to 10,000	169,040	1,217,000,000
" 25,000	138,460	2,202,000,000
" 50,000	48,810	1,731,000,000
" 100,000	20,570	1,432,000,000
" 250,000	11,200	1,615,000,000
" 500,000	2,971	1,020,000,000
" 750,000	653	405,000,000
" 1,000,000	230	195,000,000
over 1,000,000	322	681,000,000
		£15,053,000,000

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Of this total £10,500,000,000 is held by 392,256 persons. Thus Sir Josiah Stamp, on his own estimate, considers that two-thirds of the wealth is held by just under 400,000 people, and one third by 36,000 people.

From Sir Josiah Stamp's table we can say, therefore (taking the population of Great Britain to be 42,700,000) that :—

- (a) One-third of the capital wealth is held by one-thousandth of the whole population.
- (b) Two-thirds (which includes (a), is held by one-106th of the population, or in other—
  - (1) 60 per cent. of the capital wealth is in the hands of one per cent. of the population.
  - (2) 99 per cent. of the people own 40 per cent. of the wealth.

It must be remembered that these figures are approximate and that if it is assumed that the owners of wealth are all men, their wives, children and dependents are counted as owning no wealth at all.

### **The Concentration of Capital.**

A more recent calculation was made by Professor H. Clay, lecturing to the Manchester Statistical Society on February 18th. By means of calculations based upon figures published by the Commissioners of Inland Revenue of estates above £100 value annually paying estate duty, he produced a table of the estimated distribution of capital in England and Wales in 1912. It showed 2,467,035 estates of the total value of £6,126,412,000, and contained, among others, the following figures :—

Range of Value.	Number of Estates.	Amount £,000.
Under £500	1,401,114	381,517
500 to 1,000	453,954	285,135
1,000 to 5,000	439,012	1,046,014
5,000 to 10,000	80,913	622,195
75,000 to 100,000	2,447	227,345
100,000 to 150,000	2,530	361,069
150,000 to 200,000	1,231	191,711
200,000 to 800,000	22	14,054
800,000 to 1,000,000	47	80,373
Over £1,000,000	124	215,871

He added : "I do not think that more than two and a half million persons possessed wealth to the value of more than £100 before the war"; and went on to say that "Capital in this coun-

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try is much more concentrated than income and much more concentrated than it is in any other country." After conclusion of his address, Professor Clay quoted Bacon's remark that "Property is like muck: it is good only if it is spread"; and commented, "My figures suggest that we have completely forgotten this principle."

### The Concentration of Land.

Figures referring to land-ownership show how remarkably this form of property is concentrated in Great Britain.

#### OWNERSHIP OF AGRICULTURAL LAND.

		No. of Agricultural Holdings.	No. of Occupying Owners.	Total No. Engaged in Agriculture.	Total Population.
England and Wales	1913	436,000	49,000	1,260,000	37,338,000
England and Wales	1921	415,000	70,000	1,254,000	37,885,000
Scotland	1913	77,000	5,600	227,000	4,760,000
Ireland	1913	566,000	349,000	876,000	4,390,000
France	1908	5,505,000	2,200,000	8,777,000	39,250,000
Germany	1907	5,736,000	5,250,000	15,000,000	67,000,000
U.S.A.	1920	6,445,000	3,925,000	10,953,000	107,438,000

### Distribution of Income.

The sixty-fourth report of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue gave an invaluable table which gives some indication of the distribution of income in the year 1919-20. It will be seen from this table that 38,920 persons have a total income of £36,583,000, and that 165 people have a total income of £33,690,000. This gives a particular case of the glaring inequalities of individual incomes, and scientific inquiry confirms this.

Sir Josiah Stamp, who estimated the total national income for 1918-19 to be £3,900,000,000, tells us that in 1914 "some eight per cent. of the total income of the country belonged to a very small fraction, less than one-tenth of one per cent. of the receivers of incomes. The next 22 per cent. in amount went to one per cent. of the number of incomes and the next 15 per cent. of amount of incomes to 4½ per cent. of the people receiving incomes. This amounts to 45 per cent. of the incomes going to about 5½ per cent. of the people with separate incomes." In his opinion this proportion has remained more or less constant, though in 1919 taxation greatly altered the position of the income receiver.

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Professor Bowley estimated the aggregate income of the Population of the United Kingdom in 1911 from the following table :—

	Total Income £ Million	Home Income £ Million	Income for Abroad £ Million
Wages ... ... ...	782	... 782	...
Salaries less than £160	84	... 84	...
Independent Workers, Small Employers, Farmers, &c.	180	... 180	...
Total earned Income below £160 Wages ...	<u>£1,046</u>	<u>1,046</u>	...
Salaries above £160 ...	130	... 130	...
Other Salaries above £160 under Schedule A :—			
Ownership of Lands ...	34	... 34	...
Ownership of Building	144	... 144	...
Under Schedule B :—			
Occupation of Lands .	15	... 15	...
Under Schedule C :—			
Government Securities	48	... 12	... 36
Evading Tax & Unremitted	37	... 17	... 20
Total Income over £160	<u>936</u>	<u>742</u>	... <u>194</u>
Unearned Income below £160	50	... 50	...
Soldiers & Sailors Abroad Pay	20	... 20	...
Old Age Pensions ...	12	... 12	...
Agricultural Income not otherwise included ... ...	26	... 26	...
Total Miscellaneous ...	<u>108</u>	<u>108</u>	...
Total Income £1,000,000	<u>2,090</u>	<u>1,896</u>	... <u>194</u>

Of the £2,090,000,000 about £800,000,000 was received in wages and approximately £260,000,000 was received as salaries or earned by independent workers. £936,000,000 was received by about 1,100,000 income tax payers.

Professor Bowley, therefore, reckons that the income derived from the produce of the year's work is approximately £1,896,000,000, of which £1,046,000,000 is received by manual wage-earners and other workers whose earnings are less than £160 per annum.

### National Surplus Income.

Professor Bowley made a valuable inquiry into the amount of surplus and unearned income before the war, taking the year 1911 as the most suitable. In that year he estimated the national income to be £1,900,000,000 or less, a sum which excluded any other but those derived from home sources. Out of this total rather more than half was earned by people whose annual income was under £160 (the then limit of income tax), and which amounted to £1,064,000,000.

Professor Bowley then estimates about 40 per cent. of the whole, which equals £742,000,000, formed the income from home sources of 1,100,000 taxpayers and their families. Of this, £145,000,000 was "earned" as salaries or by farmers, and £190,000,000 was "unearned" income (in the sense in which the word is currently used) and obtained from the ownership of real property and securities and including £76,000,000 derived from house property. The remaining £407,000,000 is the total of all profits of trades and professions (excluding those whose incomes are under £160) and a considerable part (whose amount cannot be ascertained) goes to shareholders and others who take no active part in their business. In estimating the total surplus income, Professor Bowley made an allowance for the work of active employers, professional men and salaried employers at the conservative rate of £160 per annum, which he deducted from the £742,000,000 of tax paying income and which left him with about £550,000,000. "This may be taken as a maximum estimate of surplus and unearned income that could be regarded as transferable to national purposes." Professor Bowley's figure can be taken as the absolute maximum which has even taken what is known as "earned" income into account as if it were unearned. If we take this sum of £145,000,000 from Professor Bowley's figures we arrive at the safe estimate of £415,000,000, which can be counted upon as absolutely unearned income in 1911. To gain a true perspective of this figure, national expenditure would serve as a basis. The estimated expenditure, including everything for the year 1911-12, amounted to £181,284,000. The £415,000,000 represents about 20 per cent. of the total national income.

## THE FISCAL CONTROVERSY

**D**EFEATED on its Protectionist programme in 1923, the Tory party carefully avoided raising the tariff as a direct issue in 1924. Nevertheless, the new Preferences passed at the Imperial Conference in 1923, and rejected, on the initiative of the Labour Government in 1924, are to be brought forward again. Moreover, an ingenious scheme for departmental "safeguarding" of efficient industries was published during the Parliamentary recess, as the result of which, so the *Economist* wrote on February 7th: "We are faced with a really serious danger that the foundations may be laid of a general tariff system that will be very difficult to uproot." The fiscal controversy, therefore, cannot be said to be dead.

### General Principles.

The case against Protection, on economic grounds, has never been shaken since, in 1846, Sir Robert Peel established Free Trade as the national system of this country. Protection is a method of securing advantages to individuals and groups at the expense of the community. The taxation of imports from abroad may keep them out. In that case it gives the home manufacturer a monopoly and, consequently, the power to charge what he likes. In that case the Treasury, of course, gains nothing. If, however, the tax does not keep "imports" out, the price of the goods coming in, and of similar goods made at home, goes up *at least* by the extent of the duty. The producers of the goods in question, may gain; the purchaser of these goods, and of all other goods, into whose manufacture they enter, must lose. The general and characteristic effect of Protection in any form is *to raise prices*. It is therefore supported by Tories as an adjunct to and instrument of Nationalist Capitalism. Within the limited market it secures for him the employer can raise prices against the consumer—and this raising of prices will more than offset any gain the worker in the "protected" industry or market can extract in the shape of increased wages. In so far as it raises prices, and further reduces the purchasing power of the workers, Protection tends to diminish employment. The cure for unemployment is not Protection, as Mr. Baldwin said in 1923, but Scientific Socialism.

Further, tariffs assist corruption as well as exploitation. Powerful financial and industrial groups are interested in tariff-mongering and use the power of the purse to get "protection" for themselves. The tariff is the major cause of the political corruption rife in the United States.

Thirdly. Protection encourages suspicion and enmity between nations and hampers that free intercourse of peoples. Tariff wars secure no advantages: as a "bargaining method" they are a complete failure. In 1888-98, there was a tariff war between France and Italy, provoked by a new Italian tariff. Both sides suffered seriously in loss of trade. The same is true of the Russo-German tariff war of 1892-4, and the Franco-Swiss war of 1892-5. All that they do certainly achieve is the creation of bad feeling. They sow seed that frequently matures in actual war, and intensify nationalist feeling.

At the same time, Free Trade is not enough. Protection can aggravate the evils of capitalism. Free Trade leaves them free play. A party which, like the Liberal, has only this negative programme, is dead. That is not Labour's position. It has a constructive fiscal policy, of international scope.

Socialist fiscal policy is *international*. In it two points are underlined:

### (1) International Control of Raw Materials.

In the Constitution of the Independent Labour Party, it is stated that the party

"recognises that the interests of the workers throughout the world of whatever race, colour or creed, are one; and that war, imperialism and the exploitation of native races are mainly caused by the greed of competing capitalist groups. It therefore realises that the Socialist Commonwealth must ultimately be international and that the prevention of these eviles can only be secured by a *world organisation of free peoples, co-operating in the production and distribution of the world's goods.*"

Implied in the last sentence is a system of International Control over raw materials which would scientifically regulate the supplies of food and raw materials and secure a fair share to all the peoples of the world. It is on this basis alone that exchange can be really free and advantageous to all. At present, instead of the scientific control that is necessary for general freedom, there is systematic exploitation of the weaker peoples by the strong in the international sphere, just as there is exploitation of the weaker classes and groups by the strong in the national sphere. To prevent this, war-time experience in

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international economic organisation should be used. The power at present exerted by each country by profiteering combines, can be broken by bulk national purchasing. At the same time, Socialists would accompany this national action by proposing the re-organisation of the League of Nations so that it might become democratised and all-inclusive. They would then advocate that this reconstructed League should co-ordinate the economic resources and needs of the world, seeking the same object for all countries which the Supreme Economic Council pursued for the Allies during the war. The League would be charged with supervising the economic growth of undeveloped territories and preventing the exploitation of subject races by capitalist groups. The League would investigate and control the activities of international rings of markets and combines, and prevent the allocation and the fixing of prices in their interests instead of in the general interests. It might be thought desirable that these combines should in time be converted into public services operating on behalf of the organised producers and consumers of the different countries. By these means the scramble for the world's resources would be regulated and eventually ended, and the economic cause of modern war eradicated.

In addition to this, Socialist policy includes

### (2) An International Minimum Standard of Working Conditions.

Protection is sometimes advocated as a means of preventing the unfair competition of sweated labour. It affords no real safeguard against that, however; working conditions are as bad, if not worse in some protected countries and industries as in free trade countries. By international agreement, however, a proper minimum standard can be enforced. The Labour and Socialist movement, nationally and internationally, stands for the *legal establishment of an international minimum standard of working conditions and the abolition of sweating, not only at home, but abroad*. It is from this point of view that the Washington Convention, prescribing a maximum 48 hours' week is of primary importance. The Labour Government in 1924 introduced a Bill making the 48 hour week the legal maximum here, but fell before it could be passed. That Bill represented a definite effort to lift the working standard of the world at least to the level of our own, instead of allowing ours to be dragged down by that of the most retrograde country.

## SOME CURRENT ISSUES.

### (a) The Safeguarding of Industries.—McKenna Duties.

"We are holding ourselves free the moment we come back to office to put on the McKenna duties again. As early as ever we can we will introduce a new Safeguarding of Industries Bill, better constructed than the last, and more adapted to meet the peculiar conditions of the competition we shall have to face. Above all, we hold ourselves free to bring into operation at once those proposals for Imperial Preference which were so disastrously rejected by the present Government."

MR. NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN, Birmingham, October, 1924.

The new "safeguarding" plan, however, is not a Bill; as explained in the White Paper issued early in February, every industry wishing for Protection is to state its case first to the Board of Trade (under Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister) and, second, to a committee to be appointed by the Board. If it then passes certain tests, an import tax for the industry in question will be proposed in the next Finance Bill and be approved, on its merits, by the House of Commons. The tests sound well enough on paper, but are of such a vague sort that while a Free Trader would reject every claimant, a Protectionist would pass every one in. For instance, while it is laid down during the tests that an industry applying for Protection must prove that it is "substantial" and that it is "reasonably efficient." Mr. P. J. Hannon has already declared that "the small manufacturers must not be sacrificed to any fantastic or subtle interpretation of the word 'substantial.' All industries producing for competition in the world's markets must be included"—apparently whether "reasonably efficient" or no.

As to the "advantages" of "safeguarding" a test case has recently been given us by the prosperity of the motor and other industries *after the removal* of the McKenna Duties. When the McKenna Duties were imposed by the Asquith Government—nominally a Free Trade Government—in 1915, it was clearly indicated that they were intended to be purely temporary and for war-time purposes only. The original object was to discourage the importation of luxuries during the war and to concentrate production on necessities. Mr. McKenna, in his introductory speech on September 21st, 1915, made this plain.

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"We have to tax now with objects beyond revenue, with objects which are purely temporary, and without regard to the permanent effect upon trade. We must look at the state of our foreign exchanges. We must discourage imports. . . . I put forward now a list of articles the importation of which may properly be restricted by means of duties, in time of war, on both grounds I have mentioned, namely, foreign exchanges and luxuries."

Mr. Bonar Law, on the same occasion, emphasised the point.

"The only ground of which I think I can see any question of opposition to these duties, from the point of view of the fiscal controversy, is the idea that they will lead to something else. Duties of this kind would *never be continued under any circumstances when the war is over—I mean duties on this scale.*"

The duties affected touring cars and motor cycles (including the parts thereof) cinematograph films, watches, clocks and musical instruments. On these a 33 per cent. ad valorem duty was imposed. After the war the duties were retained, not for the original reasons, but for revenue producing purposes. When however, Mr. Snowden proposed their abolition, he was attacked with a fury which showed that they were valued because of their protectionist possibilities. The case of the motor industry, in particular, aroused an amazing campaign. The *Daily Mail* maintained that 1,000,000 men would lose their employment, and responsible Conservative speakers tried to rouse the country with equally extravagant talk. On the 1st May, the *Daily Express*, appeared with the headline, "Motor Duty Blunder Creates Chaos : Paralysis of the Motor Trade : Mr. Snowden's Great Mistake." On the following day appeared :—"Murdering our Motor Industry : First Dismissals of the Workers." Mr. Snowden stuck to his guns. The duties lapsed on August 1st. On September 30th, two months after the lapse, the same paper announced, "Bright Prospects of the Motor Industry : Great Increase in Output : Cheerful News : Double Shifts in Factories : Extension of all Kinds."

Actually there has ever since been an improvement in the motor car industry, both as regards employment and exports. Within three or four months of the removal which, according to Mr. Morris, of the well-known firm, was to bring "ruin" to the industry, the following bill placarded railway stations, etc. :—

### Drivers Wanted!

Owing to the abolition of the McKenna Duties and the consequent reduction in price of all types of car since August 1, thousands of new cars are being bought weekly in this country, etc.

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The following figures from the Board of Trade returns, tell their own story :—

## The Motor Trade in 1924.

IMPORTS.	1922. No.	1923. No.	1924. No.	1922. £'000.	1923. £'000.	1924. £'000.
Touring Cars ...	13,340	16,428	13,707	2,323	2,709	2,854
Commercial Cars ...	975	771	1,319	191	141	175
Chassis ...	8,517	12,627	12,423	1,527	1,729	1,759
Parts ...	—	—	—	1,886	2,097	3,342
<b>Totals</b> ...	—	—	—	5,927	6,676	8,130
RE-EXPORTS.	1922. No.	1923. No.	1924. No.	1922. £'000.	1923. £'000.	1924. £'000.
Touring Cars ...	348	1,999	2,598	135	353	525
Commercial Cars ...	58	573	463	17	87	60
Chassis ...	74	149	369	22	40	77
Parts ...	—	—	—	67	94	384
<b>Totals</b> ...	—	—	—	241	574	1,046
BRITISH EXPORTS.						
Touring Cars ...	1,338	3,256	10,961	828	1,204	2,897
Commercial Cars ...	596	976	1,730	473	663	788
Chassis ...	1,107	2,032	2,905	655	977	1,176
Parts ...	—	—	—	810	1,055	1,652
<b>Totals</b> ...	—	—	—	2,766	3,899	6,513
MOTOR CYCLES.						
Imports ...	976	1,045	543	53	45	26
Re-Exports ...	11	34	146	1	2	10
British Exports ...	7,262	16,002	37,563	481	810	1,626
MOTOR CYCLE PARTS.						
Imports ...	—	—	—	54	23	24
Re-Exports ...	—	—	—	2	2	5
British Exports ...	—	—	—	254	420	738

*The Musical Instruments Industry*, likewise deprived of its protection, is also flourishing. Exports in 1924 were more than double the 1922 figures. Gramophone manufacturers, for example, and piano makers were reported, in September, 1924, to be passing through a "period of prosperity—unexampled in the history of the industry."—Colonel Tatton, President, Federation of British Music Industries.

### (b) Increased Imperial Preferences.

The Resolutions accepted by the Imperial Conference, and rejected by the House of Commons on June 18th, 1924, are as follow :—

1. Dried figs, raisins, plums, and currants, which are dutiable, to be free from all import duties if of Empire origin.

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2. The rate of duty on tobacco of Empire origin to be reduced from five-sixths to three-quarters of the duty charged on tobacco from foreign countries.
3. Duty on Empire produced wines of a strength exceeding 30 degrees and not exceeding 42 degrees to be reduced to 2s. per gallon, and the preference on the surtax of 12s. 6d. per gallon on sparkling wines to be increased from 30 per cent. to 50 per cent.
4. Preference on Empire produced sugar to be maintained for ten years at a halfpenny per pound so long as the duty on foreign sugar does not fall below that level.
5. Imposition of a duty of 10s. 6d. per cwt. upon dried apples, pears, and peaches of foreign origin, but such dried fruits of Empire origin to be admitted free of all duty.
6. Placing a duty of 5s. per cwt. on preserved fruits of foreign origin, other than fruit pulp for jam manufacture, but all such fruit to be admitted free of all duty.
7. Duty of 5s. per cwt. to be charged on raw apples of foreign origin, and raw apples from the Empire to be admitted free.
8. A duty of 10s. per cwt. to be imposed on foreign honey, and honey of Empire origin to be admitted free of duty.
9. Lime and lemon juices of foreign origin to be subject to a duty of 6d. per gallon. Fruit juices from the Empire to be exempt from the duty.
10. A duty of 10s. per cwt. to be imposed on foreign canned salmon, canned lobster, crayfish, and crabs, but these goods to be admitted free of duty from the Empire.

In the December, 1924, issue of the *Free Trader* the amount of these proposed new duties on foreign imports on the basis of our foreign imports in 1923 is calculated:—

Articles	Imports in 1923		Rate of proposed duty on foreign imports	Estimated produce of new duty £000'
	Foreign	Empire		
	ooo cwts.	ooo cwts.		
Canned Salmon ...	398.4	107.6	10s. per cwt.	199.2
Canned Lobster ...	1.0	28.9	10s. per cwt.	0.5
Other canned Fish (not sardines) ...	30.2	25.4	10s. per cwt.	35.1
Raw Apples ...	3,589.3	2,884.1	5s. per cwt.	897.3
Canned or bottled fruit ...	239.5	38.1	5s. per cwt.	59.8
Other preserved fruits ...	374.7	4.5	5s. per cwt.	93.6
Dried fruit, now to be taxed	40.7	12.2	10s. 6d. per cwt.	20.4
Preserved pineapples ...	36.0	373.4	5s. per cwt.	9.0
Ditto other fruits ...	868.5	65.5	5s. per cwt.	217.1
Jams, &c. ...	1.2	1.8	5s. per cwt.	0.3
Fruit Juice (ooo gals.) ...	115.7	425.3	6d. per gal.	2.9
Honey ...	29.6	26.2	10s. per cwt.	14.8
Total amount of new taxes on 1923 basis ..	..	..	..	£1,530,000

It is thus likely that the revenue which will be derived from these new duties on foreign produce will amount to £1½ millions; that the prices of those imports will be increased by at least 1½ millions; and that the prices of corresponding British goods will increase in about the same proportion.

As regards the corresponding Empire produce, which will probably be imported free of all duty, it is quite an error to suppose that the prices will remain as they would if the competing produce remained untaxed, as now. A calculation with regard to our 1923 imports from the Empire abroad shows that if the new duties were to apply to them, the revenue from them would be rather less than £1 million. But as the object of Preference, no matter what those who are trying to introduce it may say, is to give the Empire producer a better price for his produce, it can be safely assumed that the operation of this Preference scheme would have been to give them last year about £1 million more for the produce we bought from them. In other words, if the proposed scheme had been working last year, the *imported* produce under consideration would have cost us about £2½ millions more than it did, of which £1½ millions, would have gone to the Treasury and £1 million into the pockets of the Empire producers. The increased price of our own apples, honey, &c., will, of course, go to our own producers.

These proposals are of course an addition to the existing Preferences.

The table on page 149 shows the amount of the preference granted to various classes of Imperial produce, the amount in thousands of pounds of the duty collected on each class during the year ended March 31st, 1923 at full and preferential rates respectively; and an estimate of the approximate cash value of the preference—*i.e.*, the difference between the duties actually collected on Empire imports and the duties as they would be if there had been no preference.

The total loss of revenue due to preference is thus about £4½ millions, of which £2 millions is on tea, £1½ millions on sugar, and £½ million on tobacco. The preference on McKenna duties amounted in value to about £156,000, nearly all on Ford cars imported from Canada.

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On the argument that trade with the Empire is "thanks to Preference" increasing faster than with foreign countries, the following figures are illuminating. The Dominions, which give us a preference, are marked with an \*.

## British Exports.

		1913 £ Mil.	1923 £ Mil.	Increase £ Mil.
The four chief Self-Governing Dominions ...	...	91.3	133.9	42.6
*The rest of the Empire ... ... ...	104.0		142.1	38.1
		<u>195.3</u>	<u>276.0</u>	<u>80.7</u>
All Foreign Countries ... ... ...	329.9		466.6	136.7
		<u>525.2</u>	<u>742.6</u>	<u>217.4</u>

British Possessions (Excluding India, Irish Free State, and the Four Self-Governing Dominions)	...	...	...	...	33.7	56.0	22.3
United States	...	...	...	...	29.3	59.6	30.3
*Australia	...	...	...	...	34.5	57.7	23.2
France	...	...	...	...	28.9	49.2	20.3
India	...	...	...	...	70.3	86.1	15.8
Belgium	...	...	...	...	13.2	25.2	12.0
Japan	...	...	...	...	14.5	26.3	11.8
*New Zealand	...	...	...	...	10.8	20.7	9.9
*South Africa	...	...	...	...	22.2	27.9	5.7
Argentina	...	...	...	...	22.6	28.2	5.6
China	...	...	...	...	14.8	18.6	3.8
*Canada	...	...	...	...	23.8	27.6	3.8
Germany	...	...	...	...	40.7	42.6	1.9
All other Foreign Countries	...	...	...	...	165.9	216.9	51.0
					<u>525.2</u>	<u>742.6</u>	<u>217.4</u>

From these figures it is obvious that arguments as to the great advantage to ourselves of Imperial Preference, based on our total export trade to the Empire abroad, are deliberately misleading; because they overlook the fact that the greater part of our Empire trade is done with Colonies other than the self-governing Dominions, while our total exports to foreign countries greatly exceed those to the Empire, and are increasing more rapidly.

*Note.*—\*The exports to the Irish Free State, which amounted to £34.7 millions during the last nine months of 1923, are omitted from the above calculations; because, though the Free State has during that period given us a preference, our trade with her in 1913 was home trade, and was not included in the figures of our foreign trade in that year.

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U.K. Foreign Trade, 1913, 1923, 1924.

	Imports from.			British Exports to		
	1913	1923.	1924. (6 mos.)	1913.	1923.	1924. (6 mos.)
Russian States	... 40.3	30.8	12.4	18.1	9.0	4.0
Sweden	... 14.2	21.6	9.0	8.2	13.8	6.9
Norway	... 7.4	11.1	4.3	6.1	8.6	4.2
Denmark	... 24.0	46.3	21.9	6.0	12.8	6.8
Germany	... 80.4	35.0	14.4	40.7	42.6	22.9
Netherlands	... 23.6	37.1	19.7	15.4	29.4	12.6
Java	... 3.9	11.5	3.9	7.2	7.0	3.7
Belgium	... 23.4	27.5	17.8	13.2	25.2	11.6
France	... 46.4	58.5	32.0	28.9	49.3	20.5
Switzerland	... 11.1	19.5	8.9	4.2	7.3	6.0
Portugal	... 3.1	3.9	2.2	3.3	4.8	2.6
Spain	... 14.4	19.5	10.1	7.8	10.5	5.1
Italy	... 8.1	14.3	8.0	14.6	19.4	8.6
Turkey	... 5.4	3.2	0.6	8.1	3.9	1.7
Persia	... 0.4	7.1	3.9	0.7	1.7	0.8
China	... 4.7	12.3	5.5	14.8	18.6	10.8
Japan	... 4.4	6.8	3.6	14.5	26.3	14.3
U.S.A.	... 141.7	211.2	112.4	29.3	59.6	25.6
Cuba	... 3.7	8.7	7.8	2.3	2.9	1.5
Mexico	... 1.9	6.3	2.7	2.2	2.7	1.1
Peru	... 3.2	8.6	3.4	1.5	2.6	1.3
Chili	... 5.4	5.8	6.4	6.0	6.7	2.5
Brazil	... 10.0	5.9	3.5	12.5	11.0	6.2
Argentina	... 42.5	66.1	37.3	22.6	28.2	13.2
All foreign countries	577.2	771.7	409.9	329.9	466.6	228.7
South Africa	... 13.5	15.3	9.4	22.2	27.9	15.4
Australia	... 38.1	49.1	30.8	34.5	57.7	28.5
New Zealand	... 20.3	43.0	31.8	10.8	20.7	9.1
Canada	... 30.5	53.4	23.6	23.8	27.6	13.3
Newfoundland	... 0.9	2.1	0.4	0.9	0.7	0.5
Irish Free State	... —	32.7	22.8	—	24.7	21.0
All Self-Governing Dominions	... 103.3	195.6	118.8	92.2	159.3	87.8
India	... 48.4	67.0	33.8	70.3	86.1	45.2
Nigeria	... 3.9	7.5	4.5	3.7	6.5	2.7
Straits Settlements	19.4	10.7	5.3	7.2	7.8	4.2
Ceylon	... 7.8	12.5	6.8	4.2	3.8	1.9
British West Indies	2.1	5.9	2.9	2.4	3.7	1.7
All British Pos- sessions	... 191.5	326.3	188.5	195.3	300.7	159.8
Total World	... 768.7	1,098.0	598.4	525.2	767.3	388.5

\* Since April 1st, 1923, only.

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Throughout the Dominions there is pretty lively movement for the diminution or abolition of Preferences. Thus Canada gives us 33 1-3 per cent. on their duties (in spite of which our trade with Canada has not increased as fast as with the U.S.) and recently the Canadian Chambers of Commerce and Manufacturers' Association have been calling for a reduction in British Preference, in order to "safeguard" native manufactures against the products of our low-paid labour. The decision of Australia to make 75 per cent. of British labour and/or raw materials the minimum to entitle our goods to preference is practically unaltered, in spite of the protests of our exporters. As the President of the Huddersfield Chamber of Commerce has pointed out, this will exclude British cloth made of Australian wool from the advantage of preference in Australia, because the cost of the (Australian !) wool alone is from 65 to 75 per cent. that of the finished article; and therefore no margin is left within which to comply with the 75 per cent. stipulation. And this is only one of many of our exporting industries which will be sorely hit by Australia's latest move "to encourage inter-Imperial trade."

New Zealand has likewise followed suit, and as from April 1st, 1925, British goods are only to get the preferential Tariff if the proportion of British Empire labour and for material is not less than 75 per cent. of the works cost of the completed article. The New Zealand plan does not bang the door in our face so loudly as the Australian one will do, if carried: New Zealand will allow Preference to our goods if they contain at least 75 per cent. of *Empire* material and U.K. raw material, whereas the Australian plan (due, like the other, to come into effect on April 1st, 1925) only permits the use of U.K. raw materials if they are produced in this country, and U.K. labour, and so penalises the Empire as well as the Mother Country. For instance, U.K. woollens made of Australian wool will be barred from Preference in Australia (but not in New Zealand), because owing to the dearness of that wool it will be impossible for our exports to conform to the 75 per cent. cost proviso.

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## Present Position of Our International Trade.

In 1924 the aggregate turn-over of British Trade was £2,215 millions, an increase of £233 over 1923.

	1923	1924	Increase in 1924 over 1923	per cent.
	£	£	£	
Imports ...	1,096,226,214	1,279,884,597	+ 183,618,383	+ 16.5
British Exports ...	767,257,771	795,364,581	+ 28,106,810	+ 3.7
Re-Exports ...	118,543,805	140,148,757	+ 21,605,152	+ 18.3
Total Exports ...	885,801,575	935,513,538	+ 49,711,962	+ 5.6
Import Excess ...	<u>210,424,638</u>	<u>344,331,059</u>	<u>+ 133,906,421</u>	<u>+ 63.7</u>

The increase in *imports* is almost wholly due to food (which rose from £5,089 millions in 1923 to £5,729 millions in 1924), and raw materials (1923, £325 millions; 1924, £400.6 millions). The rise in manufactured imports was small—from £257 to £299.9 millions. The rise in prices was an important factor, especially in the case of wool, wheat, butter, flax, hemp and jute. On the *export* side, recovery in the Ruhr accounts for a sharp drop in coal (79 millions tons in 1923, 61 in 1924), and iron and steel (4.3 million tons in 1923, 3.8 millions in 1924).

In terms of 1913 values, exports are down 20 per cent. on 1913.

Imports up 7½ per cent. on 1913.  
re-exports down 3 per cent. on 1913.

The volume of trade in 1924 compared with 1923 and 1922 was :—

	1913	1923	1924
Imports ...	100	93.0	104.1
Exports ...	100	74.5	75.5
Re-Exports ...	100	81.3	90.5

## The Trade Balance.

Of course, the true trade balance is not shown by the figures of merchandise only. We pay for our imports by visible exports of goods, and "invisible" exports of services. The distributive and transport worker is a producer in the economic sense, as well as the man who handles raw materials and converts them into goods.

# SOCIALIST ANNUAL, 1925

The following table shows the true trade balance :—

	in £ million						
	1907	1910	1913	1920	1922	1923	1924
Excess of Imports (Merchandise and bullion) ...	... 142	159	158	343	171	203	341
Net Shipping Income (including bunker coal, etc.) ...	... 85	90	94	340	110	115	130
Net income from overseas investments ...	... 160	187	210	200	175	150	185
Commissions ...	... 25	25	25	40	30	30	40
Other Services ...	... 10	10	10	15	10	10	15
Total "Invisible" Exports ...	280	312	339	595	325	305	370

## U.K. Foreign Trade.

### ERRATUM, page 152, paragraph 2.

*The first two lines should read :—*

The increase in imports is almost wholly due to food (which rose from £508.9 millions in 1923 to £572.9 millions in 1924),

Spain	...	15,976	23,167	23,329	23,635	9,728	14,647	13,164	13,082
Portugal	...	3,898	6,642	6,211	6,819	6,053	7,436	8,613	8,582
Belgium	...	23,426	24,038	27,910	36,980	13,528	25,431	25,640	23,117
Germany	80,411	26,524	35,001	36,897	40,677	32,076	42,570	42,644	
Czecho-Slovakia	...	5,226	8,310	13,491	...	744	997	1,376	
Jugo-Slavia	...	644	695	494	...	666	914	1,122	
Austria	... ( 7,706 )	1,582	2,099	2,511	( 4,481 )	1,038	1,133	2,370	
Hungary	...	410	672	547	...	205	154	380	
Greece	...	2,202	4,013	4,779	3,883	2,537	3,796	3,844	5,892
Rumania	2,037	1,695	2,362	2,203	1,947	2,636	2,777	2,850	
Turkey (European)	1,165	1,458	1,161	1,195	2,414	3,429	3,125	3,316	
Russia	40,271	*13,420	*17,632	*29,568	18,103	*5,942	*5,133	*6,974	
Finland	...	10,434	13,205	13,812	...	2,761	3,911	4,559	
Poland	...	2,863	5,362	8,387	...	2,435	2,722	3,499	
Sweden	14,213	19,201	21,563	22,486	8,220	12,292	13,789	13,874	
Norway	7,137	10,566	11,135	11,573	6,147	11,589	8,612	8,726	
Denmark	24,053	40,310	46,276	48,890	6,061	12,455	12,792	13,780	
Netherlands	27,913	45,661	52,697	55,990	22,794	44,773	38,724	34,549	
Total	...	319,407	332,111	378,750	429,943	193,938	269,076	273,015	269,800
Per cent. of total	...	41.6	33.1	35.5†	35.0†	36.9	37.3	36.7†	35.8†
† Excluding trade with Irish Free State.					*	Includes Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.			

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## (b) Trade with the Rest of the World.

(ooo's omitted.)

	Imports From.				Exports To.			
	1913	1922	1923	1924	1913	1922	1923	1924
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
United States	143,854	223,710	213,528	244,878	30,478	55,785	60,667	54,575
Cuba	3,675	10,610	8,704	12,420	2,214	1,388	2,934	3,200
Mexico	1,880	8,604	6,345	5,935	2,333	2,213	2,750	2,443
Argentina	42,485	56,520	66,084	79,100	22,641	22,708	28,165	27,194
Brazil	10,008	7,726	5,897	4,794	12,465	10,983	10,998	13,678
Chile	5,359	4,422	5,789	10,911	6,010	5,437	6,677	5,359
Peru	3,178	7,410	8,605	9,720	1,488	1,749	2,571	2,739
Uruguay	2,749	4,748	4,869	5,452	2,916	2,545	3,172	3,214
Japan	4,389	8,440	6,771	7,454	14,783	23,974	26,393	26,923
China	4,672	9,723	12,284	13,765	14,845	22,734	18,609	20,354
Turkey (Asiatic)	4,251	278	2,000	1,963	5,291	267	819	898
Egypt	21,395	...	33,085	38,268	9,805	...	15,019	15,123
Other Countries	9,917	11,585	19,002	26,626	10,731	15,857	15,844	17,328
Total	257,812	353,776	392,963	461,286	136,000	165,640	193,618	193,028
Per cent. of Total	33.6	35.2	36.9*	37.5*	25.9	23.0	26.1*	25.6*

\* Excluding trade with Irish Free State.

## (c) Empire Trade.

	Imports From.				Exports To.			
	1913	1922	1923	1924	1913	1922	1923	1924
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Canada	30,488	54,895	53,448	66,062	24,795	25,271	27,566	28,150
Australia	38,065	64,863	49,068	59,234	34,470	60,457	57,707	60,760
N. Zealand	20,338	48,532	42,969	47,020	10,838	15,868	20,695	20,314
India and Ceylon	56,218	58,003	79,515	92,648	74,458	95,202	89,888	94,921
S. Africa	12,495	16,152	15,353	18,049	22,185	24,515	27,895	30,266
Egypt	...	31,106	...	...	...	15,562	...	...
W. Africa	5,174	9,760	11,166	13,193	6,601	11,650	11,521	10,494
Mauritius	293	3,908	5,628	3,586	536	972	1,129	1,225
Straits Settlements	15,880	7,961	10,681	10,583	5,836	6,644	7,753	8,286
Malay States	35,774	2,323	2,279	1,659	—	877	866	1,147
W. Indies	2,116	4,437	5,861	4,789	2,339	3,462	3,678	3,766
Irish Free State	...	...	32,738	51,239	...	...	24,674	42,372
Other Possessions	6,955	16,101	17,597	20,554	14,249	25,301	27,324	30,830
Total from Possessions	191,516	318,031	326,303	388,616	195,307	285,781	300,696	332,536
Per cent. of total	24.8	31.7	27.6*	27.5*	37.2	39.7	37.2*	38.6*

\* Excluding trade with Irish Free State.

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(d) World Re-Exports.

(000's omitted.)

To	1913	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924
France	12,072	35,814	40,097	12,899	17,915	19,403	18,002
Italy	1,012	5,689	5,624	1,750	1,730	2,162	2,374
Belgium	7,436	17,567	19,522	9,756	10,670	10,260	10,216
Germany	19,823	8,491	29,376	22,897	16,986	18,266	28,912
Russia	9,591	4,456	4,842	2,987	2,387	3,732	8,911
Sweden	1,014	5,238	5,006	1,890	1,525	1,832	1,810
Norway	518	2,169	1,942	787	714	730	645
Denmark	590	6,020	6,148	1,413	1,248	1,738	1,667
Netherlands	5,160	26,344	14,576	9,191	6,100	5,916	7,417
United States	30,222	31,481	53,964	20,394	21,677	25,966	24,640
Japan	297	1,816	1,912	778	270	254	303
Other Countries	8,066	9,585	13,931	9,269	7,180	7,393	8,667
Total to foreign countries	65,801	154,680	196,940	94,011	88,402	97,651	113,624
British Possessions	13,774	9,642	25,466	13,041	15,376	20,922	26,525
Total	109,575	164,322	222,406	107,052	103,778	118,573	140,149

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## FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN 1924

“1924 has delivered Europe from the darker shadows of the war,” wrote Mr. Garvin in the *Observer* on December 28th; he went on to say that “the year ended with a situation as a whole incomparably better than that of twelve months ago.”

At the opening of the year the shadows of the war hung black over the international sky. M. Poincaré dominated the scene; and his most characteristic act was the Ruhr occupation, in which the British Government had tamely acquiesced. Lord Curzon’s notes to France had met with snubs and produced no effect save the exasperation of relations. Great Britain was distrusted by France and despised by the rest of Europe. His pompous tone had brought us to the verge of war with Russia over the fishing rights question in the summer of 1923; only a timely and energetic protest by Labour prevented a rupture. The loss of our prestige and the continued tension between France and Germany—a tension that held the menacing possibility of renewed war—were recognised as fundamental causes of bad trade and continuing unemployment. The evils were plain: they were so serious that the general view in January, 1924, was that any Government which tried to cope with them would perish in the attempt.

Nevertheless between January and November, 1924, the change was produced which Mr. Garvin has described. The instrument of that change was Mr. Ramsay MacDonald as Foreign Secretary. Within nine months, he altered the entire international outlook: restored British prestige to a higher point than ever since the war; reconciled France and Germany; achieved a working solution of the Reparations question; brought the United States back into friendly co-operation with Europe and paved the way for a real re-construction on lines of co-operation. Without advertisement or trumpet blowing, the dead hand of the Versailles Treaty was lifted. The Labour Government fell because he tried to complete the work begun in Central Europe by bringing Russia back into the European family. If real peace is to be restored, Treaties on the lines of those signed by him in August, will have to be made with Russia.

**The London Settlement.**

The central problem, when the Labour Government took office on January 22nd, was that of France, Germany and ourselves. Germany, and through Germany, Europe, could only be brought back to health by co-operation; the essential first step was the creation of friendly relations with France. Mr. MacDonald succeeded because he saw the problem realistically and because, in office, he retained and applied the idealism he had expressed out of it. He disbelieved in force: believed in goodwill. He trusted to goodwill, and it worked. A frank interchange of views with M. Poincaré, in the shape of correspondence published on February 4th and March 3rd, created a far-reaching change in French opinion. The effect of this was demonstrated when the French Elections came on May 31st. The Bloc National, which had held power for four years, was smashed; in its stead was a Radical-Socialist combination (the Cartel des Gauches). M. Poincaré resigned; he was shortly followed into exile by the President, M. Millerand. M. Herriot, a Liberal, known to be in favour of recognising Russia, became Premier, and very soon after his accession to office, came over to London to talk with Mr. MacDonald. The talk, as organised by the latter, was on quite definite lines.

On April 11th the Experts' Committee appointed by the Reparations Commission, had issued its (Dawes) report. It was an unanimous document which contained a working solution of the Reparations problem and one that definitely implied the evacuation of the Ruhr and the economic independence of Germany. On behalf of Great Britain, Mr. MacDonald at once accepted the report—and, step by step, induced the other European Governments to do so. The German elections in May had produced a Government then pledged to the report; his settlement of the Jubaland question assured the co-operation of Italy; by Easter indeed he had so far succeeded that President Coolidge stated that, the Reparations question once out of the way, the United States was prepared to take the initiative in a new world disarmament conference. At their meeting at Chequers, therefore, Mr. MacDonald arranged with M. Herriot for the summoning of a conference—of allies in the first instance, later with Germany—with the limited and definite object of devising means for putting the report into operation. He knew

that the spirit of co-operation which he was working to secure could only come into being when harnessed to some specific task.

On July 16th the Allied Conference met. By the beginning of August it was possible to call in the Germans. Very soon after their arrival the substantial gains accomplished by the "new diplomacy" of goodwill and frankness were apparent in the obliteration of nationalist divergencies in the discussion. Mr. MacDonald as president could say, at the closing session on August 16th, "We have given Europe something better than an agreement drafted by lawyers and printed on paper—we all negotiated, discussed, put ourselves in each others' shoes. That is the greatest advance we have made. We are now offering the first really negotiated agreement since the War. . . . This agreement may be regarded as the first Peace Treaty because we sign it with a feeling that we have turned our backs on the terrible years of war and war mentality." The settlement at last lifted the Reparations question out of the uncertainties which, so long as they persisted, threatened the very life of Germany; it further provided a system of adjustment and arbitration designed to prevent the imposition of impossible burdens on its peoples; it differentiated involuntary from voluntary default; finally it fixed a time limit for the Ruhr occupation and provided for the immediate evacuation of certain towns. It was an agreed and neither an imposed nor a punitive settlement. As such it was passed by the Reichstag, and further, on Mr. MacDonald's initiative, negotiations for an Anglo-German Commercial Treaty were at once set going and successfully carried through before he left office, although the documents were not formally signed till December.

The London Settlement, both in what it achieved and in what it promised, is far the most important event of 1924.

### **The Russian Treaties.**

The other main chapter in the peace effort of the Labour Government was the attempt to make Treaties with Russia. On February 1st, ten days after it came into office, the Labour Government gave unconditional *de jure* recognition to the Government of Russia. On April 14th an Anglo-Russian Conference was formally opened by Mr. MacDonald. Its work, presided over subsequently by Mr. Ponsonby, was to regularise the Treaty relations between the two countries, settle outstanding questions (fishing, debts, etc.) and provide a basis for full

and unfettered trade and intercourse. In view of the destruction wrought in Russia as the result of war, civil war and allied intervention and the consequent shortage of every kind of technical equipment for industry, it had been long recognised that the mutual benefits of trade could not be fully secured unless Russia were assisted to re-establish its capital equipment by a loan of some kind. Mr. Lloyd George had accepted this truism at the Genoa Conference in 1922; the National Liberal Federation had passed a resolution endorsing a loan to Russia for productive purposes in May, 1924. Nevertheless on August 6th, 1924, when the draft of two Treaties, securing substantial benefits to Great Britain, were presented to the House of Commons the Liberals, with Mr. Lloyd George at their head, denounced them violently because provision was made in them for arrangements leading up to a third Treaty, under which, the Treasury being satisfied, Parliament was to be asked to sanction a guarantee of the interest of a loan raised by Russia on the London market. On this issue, in fact, the Liberals joined with the Tories. Although assurances were given by M. Rakovsky and M. Joffe that two-thirds of any loan so raised would be spent in this country, the cry went forth "No Money for Murderers": an Anti-Bolshevik panic was blown up: the Pact was formed, and, at the Election, the Liberal Party assisted to secure the defeat of the Treaties by committing political suicide. One of the earliest acts of the new Tory Foreign Secretary, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, was to tear up the Russian Treaties—and this although the Tory King's Speech talked of the importance of friendly relations with Russia.

### **The League of Nations.**

The presence of Mr. MacDonald and M. Herriot at the League of Nations Assembly in September gave special importance to its proceedings. In June Mr. MacDonald refused to sign the draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance; in September at Geneva he explained that the establishment of a system of arbitration was the necessary first step on the road to Disarmament; the outcome of this was the Arbitration Protocol.

Thanks in the main to the firm yet conciliatory policy of the Labour Government and the fact, speedily recognised abroad, that the Foreign Secretary had a connected idea which he knew how to apply, British prestige steadily rose during the period from January to October: the dominance of France was shaken and a new spirit of co-operation, guided from London, was

visibly taking its place. The London Settlement was a step on the road to revision of the Treaty, in the interest of Europe as a whole.

The year unfortunately closed under another sky. The first sign of this was given in relation to Egypt. Discussions between Mr. MacDonald and Zaghlul Pasha proved abortive in October, largely because of the imminent fall of the Labour Government. The assassination of the Sirdar (Sir Lee Stack) on November 19th provoked an exceedingly stiff Note from the new Cabinet, demanding the payment of five million pounds monetary compensation, the rights to increase indefinitely Sudan irrigation, and a series of drastic political changes.

Even more serious was the new attitude to Germany. On the basis of the suspicions of General Nollet that disarmament there was incomplete, it was decided not to evacuate Cologne. The grounds of the decision are more significant than the decision itself: they show a sinister reversal to the old policy—a policy leading directly to the militarism it fears.

The main events in the year, not touched on in the above brief survey, are set out in diary form below. The year 1924 will be remembered in history as the year of a great and successful experiment in pacifism. A note may perhaps be added to the effect that it was the last year in which the non-Socialist world was quite taken in by Fascism. The murder of Signor Matteotti in June was a dread portent of the reality behind the sham; subsequent revelations connecting Mussolini with the crime, led, at first to a more extreme exercise of dictatorship on his part—the suppression of the press and so on—later to a gradual revulsion of opinion and a gradual opening of eyes to a tyranny grimmer than any in Moscow.

## BIRTH STATISTICS, 1913-23

Year	Legitimate			Per 1,000 Total of Population.	Illegitimate			Per 1,000 Total Births.
	Male	Female	Total		Male	Female	Total	
1913	429,657	414,324	843,981	23.1	19,502	18,407	37,909	43
1919	334,772	315,790	650,562	17.4	21,469	20,407	41,876	60
1920	468,022	444,813	912,835	24.3	22,948	21,990	44,947	47
1921	415,241	394,955	810,196	21.4	19,654	18,964	38,618	45
1922	382,057	363,929	745,986	19.5	17,402	16,736	34,138	44
1923	371,125	355,484	726,609	18.9	16,171	15,351	31,522	42

## DIARY OF FOREIGN EVENTS

1924

- January 7.—British Rum Running Vessels seized by U.S. Government.  
 10.—Herr Heinz (President of "Autonomous Government" or Palatinate), Assassinated.  
 11.—Venizelos Prime Minister in Greece.  
 15.—Earthquake at Tokio.  
 20.—Mexican Rebellion Developing.  
 21.—Death of Lenin.  
     Reparations Commission — McKenna Committee Starts Work.  
 23.—Anglo-American Liquor Treaty.  
 25.—Zaghlul Egyptian Premier.  
     Franco—Czecho-Slovak Treaty Signed.  
 27.—Italo-Jugo-Slav Treaty Signed.  
 28.—Rumanian Government refuses French offer of Loan for War Materials.  
     Turkey repeals Prohibition.
- February 1.—*British Government recognises Government of Russia.*  
 2.—U.S. Oil Scandal.  
 3.—Death of President Wilson.  
 4.—*First MacDonald-Poincaré Letters published.*  
     Italo-Russian Commercial Treaty.  
     Venizelos resigns.  
     Bombay Government releases Gandhi.  
 1.—Third International attacks British Labour Government.  
 12.—Separatist riots in Palatinate.  
     Reparations—First Experts Committee concludes work in Berlin.  
 18.—Franc falls to 100 50.  
 27.—Fall of Theunis Government (Belgium).
- March 3.—*MacDonald-Poincaré Letters (2) published.*  
     Angora Assembly abolishes Caliphate.  
 4.—Fighting in Morocco (Spanish zone).  
 6.—New Theunis Government formed (Belgium).  
     King Hussein accepts Caliphate.  
 9.—Greek Cabinet falls.  
     Franc 118.  
 10.—Venizelos leaves Greece.  
     Disturbances in Palatinate.  
     U.S. Navy Sec. (Denby) resigns (Oil Scandals).  
 12.—Dynamite outrage at British Legation, Athens.  
 14.—Poincaré secures Vote of Confidence.  
     Franc improves (U.S. and British aid) to 92.  
 15.—Egyptian Parliament opens.  
 17.—Indian Legislative Assembly rejects Budget.  
 22.—Italy ratifies Lausanne Treaty.  
 25.—Italian Air Force increased.  
     Indian State Council passes Finance Bill.  
 26.—M. Poincaré resigns (defeated in snap vote in Chamber).  
     Canada recognises Soviet Government.  
 27.—M. Poincaré returns—New Cabinet.  
 28.—U.S. Attorney-General (Daugherty) resigns (Oil Scandals).

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- April      1.—General Ludendorff acquitted.  
 7.—General Smuts dissolves South African Parliament.  
 9.—Italian Elections—Sweeping Fascist victory.  
 10.—Death of Hugo Stinnes.  
     *Experts (Dawes) Report published.*  
 11.—Reparations Committee accepts Dawes Report.  
 13.—British Government accepts Dawes Report.  
 14.—Anglo-Russian Conference opened in London.  
     Greece votes for a Republic.  
 16.—German Government accepts Dawes Report.  
 22.—President Coolidge announces that, when Reparations are settled,  
     he is in favour of World Disarmament Conference.  
 28.—Belgian and Italian Governments accept Dawes Report; French  
     Government accepts Dawes Report, with reservations.
- May      3.—M. Theunis (Belgian Premier) at Chequers.  
 6.—German Elections—majority for accepting Dawes Report.  
 12.—Rumanian State visit to London.  
 13.—French Elections—defeat of *Bloc National*.  
 14.—Franc 74.40. M. Poincaré resigns (as from June 1st).  
     Japanese Elections—Government defeated.  
 23.—Agreement with Italy on Jubaland.  
 26.—U.S. Immigration Bill signed.  
 29.—German Cabinet crisis.  
 1.—M. Poincaré resigns.
- June      2.—China recognises Soviet Government.  
 4.—Marx Cabinet returns in Germany.  
 5.—M. Painlevé elected President of French Chamber.  
 6.—Millerand-Herriot crisis in Paris.  
 10.—Signor Matteotti abducted in Rome.  
 11.—M. Millerand resigns.  
 11.—Iraq Assembly accepts Anglo-Iraq Treaty (35 to 28 votes).  
 12.—Murder of Signor Matteotti by Fascists reported.  
 13.—M. Doumergue, President of French Republic.  
 14.—Resignations from Italian Government as protest against  
     Matteotti murder.  
     Mexican Government decides to expel Mr. Cummins.  
 15.—M. Herriot forms Cabinet.  
 17.—South African General Election.  
 19.—Mr. Cummins withdrawn from Mexico.  
 22.—M. Herriot at Chequers.  
 23.—General Smuts resigns.  
 24.—M. Herriot in Brussels.  
 27.—General Election in Victoria—Labour majority.  
 29.—Zaghlul Pasha resigns—not accepted.  
 30.—Hertzog forms Nationalist Labour Cabinet.
- July      8.—Mr. MacDonald in Paris.  
     Italian Cabinet restricts press by decree.  
 11.—Mr. MacDonald rejects Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance  
     (League of Nations).  
 12.—Zaghlul Pasha shot at.  
 15.—Jubaland Treaty signed.  
 16.—Allied Conference opens—London.  
 28.—German delegates invited to attend London Conference.

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- August 2.—Mrs. Evans shot in Mexico.  
5.—German delegates arrive in London.  
    Anglo-Russian Conference breaks down.  
6.—Anglo-Russian Conference resumed—Draft Treaties agreed upon.  
16.—*London Settlement.*  
    Note to Egyptian Government re Sudan.  
    Signor Matteotti's body found.  
25.—Persian Cabinet resigns.  
26.—French Senate approves London Settlement.  
28.—Legislative Council of Burma demands Home Rule.  
29.—Reichstag passes Laws necessary for London Settlement.  
30.—London Settlement formally signed.
- Sept. 1.—Heavy fighting in Riff.  
3.—Rising in Georgia.  
4.—Mr. MacDonald at League of Nations Assembly.  
6.—MacDonald-Herriot Disarmament Resolution passed in Assembly.  
8.—Civil War in China.  
12.—Fascist Deputy (Casalini) murdered.  
15.—Georgian Republic appeals to League.  
25.—Britain protests to League against Turkish raids in Iraq.  
    Zaghlul Pasha-MacDonald discussions.
- October 1.—King Hussein of Hedjaz abdicates.  
9.—British Ultimatum to Turkey (Iraq).  
14.—German Loan (London) over-subscribed.  
18.—Branting Cabinet in Sweden.  
20.—Reichstag dissolved.  
21.—Greece appeals to League (Greeks in Constantinople, etc.)  
25.—Note to M. Rakovsky (Zinoviev letter).  
    M. Rakovsky declares Zinoviev letter a forgery.  
    Bengal Government arrests 56 "Red" suspects.  
29.—League of Nations Enquiry fixes Iraq frontier.
- Nov. 3.—Armistice in China.  
4.—Mr. Coolidge re-elected U.S. President.  
7.—Riots in Barcelona.  
15.—Vote of Confidence in Mussolini Government.  
    Zaghlul Pasha resigns.  
17.—Zaghlul withdraws resignation.  
19.—Murder of Sir Lee Stack.  
21.—Mr. Chamberlain denounces Russian Treaties; declares new Cabinet Committee satisfied Zinoviev letter genuine.  
22.—British Note to Egypt.  
24.—Alexandria Customs seized by British—Zirwar Pasha succeeds Zaghlul.  
27.—Arrests in Cairo.  
30.—Chinese Emperor takes refuge in Japanese Legation.

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- Dec.      1.—Red Putsch in Estonia.  
 2.—Anglo-German Commercial Treaty signed.  
 7.—General Election in Germany.  
 15.—German Cabinet resigns.  
       Spanish withdrawal in Morocco zone.  
 18.—Pope's warning against Socialism and Communism.  
 24.—Successful insurgent movement in Albania.  
 27.—Conference of Ambassadors declares Cologne not to be evacuated because Germany still has armaments.  
 28.—Caesare Rossi declares Mussolini guilty of Matteotti murder.  
 31.—Mussolini suppresses all opposition newspapers.

## INTER-ALLIED DEBTS AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL DEBTS

The figures given below are compiled from the Finance Accounts, 1923-24, and denote the amounts not re-paid 31st March, 1924.

Due by	To Great Britain	To U.S.A. (at \$5—£)	Total
	£	£	£
Great Britain ...	—	959,857,000	959,857,000
France ...	623,279,900	812,786,000	1,436,065,000
Italy ...	553,300,000	411,256,000	964,556,000
Belgium ...	(9,000,000)*	92,629,000	92,629,000
Austria ...	10,794,000	5,821,000	16,615,000
Czecho-Slovakia ...	474,000	22,643,000	23,117,000
Poland ...	4,489,000	31,978,000	36,467,000
Rumania ...	26,974,000	8,940,000	35,914,000
Russia ...	722,596,000	49,344,000	771,890,000
Jugo-Slavia ...	30,733,000	12,573,000	43,306,000
Portugal ...	21,544,300		
Greece ...	23,354,507		
Belgium Congo ...	3,550,300		
Estonia ...	251,000	13,924,000	
Lithuania ...	16,811		
Hungary ...	116,430		
Armenia ...	969,268		
Australia ...	80,270,922		
New Zealand ...	29,188,938		
South Africa ...	11,884,000		
Newfoundland ...	400,000		
Trinidad ...	460,625		
Jamaica ...	66,055		
Fiji ...	210,124		

\* Belgian Reconstruction Loan.

# THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

By CHARLES RODEN BUXTON.

**T**HE Covenant of the League of Nations was unanimously adopted by the Peace Conference at Versailles and was incorporated in the Treaties of Peace concluded with Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria. It was due to President Wilson's persistence and determination that the conception of the League of Nations, uniting the world in constructive effort, was thus brought into the sphere of practical politics. The object of the League is defined in the Preamble of the Covenant as the promotion of international co-operation and the achievement of international peace and security. The machinery for the attainment of this object includes not only the League proper, but also the International Labour Office and the Permanent Court of International Justice.

### **The Permanent Court of International Justice.**

The Permanent Court was provided for by the Covenant (Art. XIV.), but was not established by it. Its functions are laid down under the Statute of the Court which was adopted by the First Assembly on December 13th, 1920. Its seat is at the Hague. It is composed of 11 judges and 4 deputy judges elected by the Council and Assembly from candidates nominated by national bodies. The Court is competent not only to determine, but also to give an advisory opinion on, disputes of an international character. By Par. 2 of Art. 36 of the Statute of the Court, States may bind themselves to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court on issues of a justiciable nature arising between them and other co-signatories of the Clause.

### **Organisation of the League.**

Fifty-five out of the 65 States of the world are represented in the League. Membership of the League is open to any State which gives "effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations," and accepts the League's stipulations on Armaments. Germany, Russia and the United States are not yet members.

The constitution of the League is as follows :—

*The Assembly* meets once a year, in September. Each State member of the League is represented by three delegates chosen

by the Government of the country. Each Government represented has one vote. Decisions of the Assembly (as also of the Council) must, except in matters of procedure and certain other specified cases, be unanimous. In the words of Art. III., "the Assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world." Among its activities are the reviewing of the work of the League during the previous year; the laying down of general lines of action for the year to come; admission of new members (by a two-thirds majority); voting of the Budget; advising "the reconsideration . . . of treaties which have become inapplicable, and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world." The Assembly also, like the Council, has the power of mediating in disputes and of endeavouring to obtain a settlement of conditions which might lead to war. [For instances of the League's work in the settlement of disputes, see below (at end of section on Council)]. Not the least important function of the Assembly is to serve as a debating ground where the nations meet on an equality. The British delegates to the Fifth Assembly (1924) were the Prime Minister (J. Ramsay MacDonald), Lord Parmoor, Arthur Henderson, M.P., and Professor Gilbert Murray (to replace the Prime Minister on his departure). The substitute delegates were Mrs. Swanwick, Charles Roden Buxton, Sir Cecil Hurst and Sir H. Llewellyn Smith.

The *Council* of the League is composed of 10 representatives. The four nations permanently represented on it are France, Great Britain, Italy and Japan, and there are besides 6 temporary members, elected by the Assembly; these at present are Belgium, Brazil, Uruguay, Spain, Sweden and Czechoslovakia.

It may here be observed that a Note from the German Government asking whether, in the event of Germany's entering the League, she would be given a permanent seat on the Council, was answered in the affirmative by all the States members of the Council.

The Council meets "from time to time as occasion may require." It may deal with "any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world." It has certain special functions, such as the supervision of the Mandates system and of the administrative work arising out of

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the Peace Treaties. Like the Assembly, it has the power to take steps for mediation in disputes.

Under Article XI. of the Covenant, the Council must meet immediately in the case of any war or threat of war being brought to its notice or that of the Assembly.

Instances when the League has been called into action for the settlement of disputes, whether under Art XI. or Art XV. of the Covenant, occurred (1) in the Aaland Islands Dispute (1920) which was settled after submission of certain points of interpretation to the Court of International Justice; (2) in the autumn of 1921, when a Jugo-Slav army invaded Albania and was made to withdraw by the threat of economic boycott; (3) in October, 1921, when the Upper Silesian question was settled, after the failure of the Supreme Council (the body then representing the Allied Governments) to obtain any solution; (4) in the case of the Corfu dispute, which came before the Assembly and the Council in September, 1923, when the League helped towards obtaining a settlement, although it did not succeed in taking the dispute out of the hands of the Conference of Ambassadors (the body which represents the Allies), with the result that it was not settled on the basis of international justice, and finally (5) in September, 1920, in the case of the Vilna dispute (between Poland and Lithuania), when the League was unable to effect a settlement and the Ambassadors' Conference finally fixed a frontier line, which continues to be disputed by Lithuania.

The Secretariat of the League is the civil service (recruited from all parts of the world) which carries out the instructions of the Assembly and the Council. It works under the direction of a Secretary-General (Sir Eric Drummond) and is divided into the following sections :—

Political	Economic
Financial	Transit

Minorities and Administration—

(The duty to supervise the administration of the Saar Territory and Danzig, and of the clauses concerning the protection of Minorities contained in certain treaties, devolves upon the League Council. This Section acts in this matter as a special Secretariat of the Council.)

Mandates	Disarmament
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Health	Social
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Opium, and Traffic in Women and Children

Intellectual Co-operation, and International Bureaux

Legal

Information

In addition, Committees of various kinds have been created in connection with some of the activities of the League.

1. There are three *Technical organisations*, dealing respectively with Finance and Economics, Transit, and Health, consisting in each case of a standing committee, a general conference of Government representatives and a secretariat (which forms a section of the Secretariat-General).

The Financial and Economic Organisation was set up as a result of the Brussels Financial Conference in 1920 and has carried out such work as the Austrian and Hungarian Reconstruction scheme and the Greek Refugees' Settlement scheme (this latter with the aid of a Special Commissioner, Dr. Nansen).

2. Certain *Advisory Committees* of experts have been formed to advise the Council or the Assembly on the following questions :—Military questions (including disarmament), mandates, traffic in women and children, opium, and intellectual co-operation. The following examples illustrate the kind of work done by these Advisory Committees :—

*Military Questions.* The Permanent Advisory Commission was formed under Article IX. of the Covenant. It consists of military, naval and air experts, appointed by the various Governments to advise the Council on military affairs, including schemes for the reduction of armaments.

The Temporary Mixed Commission was set up by a decision of the Council on February 25th, 1921, to prepare reports and proposals for the reduction of armaments. Its main work was the elaboration of the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance, which was superseded at the Fifth Assembly by the Draft Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes. The Temporary Mixed Commission was superseded, as the result of a decision of the Fifth Assembly, by the "Co-ordination Commission" appointed to advise the Council on Disarmament questions. \*The resolution establishing the Co-ordination Commission runs as follows :—

Whereas the work of the League of Nations in connection with the reduction of armaments is entering this year upon a period of re-organisation which requires the direct attention of the Council : The Assembly entrusts to the Council the question of the co-ordination of the work of its Commissions for the Reduction of Armaments.

The Assembly recommends the Council to re-organise the Temporary Mixed Commission in conformity with the following principles :—

(1) The Commission shall include the representatives of a certain number of Governments ;

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(2) The Commission shall include qualified delegates of the technical organisations of the League of Nations, that is to say:

Representatives of the Economic Committee,  
                            Financial Committee,  
                    "                Transit Committee,  
                    "                Permanent Advisory Commission,  
                    "                Employers' and Labour Groups of the International Labour Office.

Experts, jurists or others elected by the Council.

(3) Delegates of States not represented on the Commission may be invited to attend whenever the Commission thinks fit.

(4) The Council will invite any States not Members of the League of Nations which may have notified their intention of taking part in the Conference for the Reduction of Armaments to appoint representatives to participate in the work of the Commission.

*The Permanent Mandates Commission* was instituted under Article XXII. of the Covenant "to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatories and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the Mandates." It consists of 9 members, the majority of whom are members of non-Mandatory States. The Mandates extend over "those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them, and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world." Their object is to assure the application of "the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples forms a sacred trust of civilisation."

### THE PROTOCOL.

The elaboration of the Draft Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes was the work of the Fifth Assembly, 1924. The League had been discussing disarmament for a long time without much success. The Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance concentrated on disarmament and security, but it was only at the Fifth Assembly that the third pillar in the edifice of peace was brought forward, i.e., arbitration.

The following is an outline of the Draft Protocol:—

The Signatories agree not to make aggressive war.

The first part, occupying more than half of the Protocol in point of space (Articles 1 to 10) deals with the various means for the settlement of all disputes without war. It has been carefully adapted, by practical statesmen, to meet all the contingencies that may arise. The hope is that every loophole has

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been stopped, and every conceivable opportunity given for reason and justice and sensible compromise to prevail.

But the event of failure in the last resort, when a country has refused every peaceable means of settlement, and has therefore been declared the aggressor, is also kept in view. That is why the second part, consisting of Articles 11 to 15, is introduced. This deals with "sanctions," and must be carefully read. It is entirely untrue to say that we place our military or naval forces at the disposal of the Council of the League. Our national freedom of choice remains unaffected. What we should do (if this country signed and ratified the Protocol) would be to give an undertaking that in the above event, we would "loyally and effectively co-operate" in support of the Covenant, in the degree allowed by "our geographical position and our particular situation as regard armaments." This would include economic assistance to the State attacked, and in connection therewith, preserving the safety of its land and sea communications. We should be bound, not by the Council, but by our own undertaking and the circumstances of the case.

The third part deals (apart from technical details) with Disarmament. Articles 17 and 21 are the most important. The whole Protocol only comes into force after a definite plan for the reduction of armaments has been adopted by the Conference to be held in June, 1925. And further, if this plan is not carried out, the Protocol falls to the ground.

Thus the scheme only comes finally into force in a world which has taken, by agreement, a serious step towards Disarmament.

The I.L.P. position on the Protocol was defined in a Resolution submitted by its National Administrative Council to the Annual Conference of the Party, Easter, 1925. This resolution is as follows :—

*That this Conference declares its whole-hearted approval of the principles of arbitration for the settlement of international disputes embodied in the Protocol, approved by the Assembly of the League of Nations. It welcomes the fact that Governments which still believe in the necessity of national armaments, should none the less have agreed that such armaments shall in future be used only to maintain international public order, in accordance with the arbitral decisions of recognised Tribunals.*

*It believes that this scheme for the maintenance of peace and the abolition of war, marks an historic advance in the translation of the pacifist ideal into practical shape.*

*It is of opinion* that the Protocol should again be discussed at the next Assembly of the League of Nations with a view to the inclusion of those nations not yet members of the League before ratification is effected, and calls upon the British Government to submit to the disarmament conference foreshadowed by the Protocol, a proposal not for the reduction or limitation of armaments, but for their simultaneous abolition by all nations.

*It is further of the opinion* that every step should be taken to foster a public opinion which will demand that the revision of the Peace Treaties may be facilitated by the Constitution of the League in similar fashion to the settlement of all other matters likely to disturb international peace.

## THE COST OF MILITARISM

### A. The Great War.

THE tables given on pp. 174/5, compiled by the "Morning Post," and based on figures collected by the Carnegie Institute for International Peace, show the cost of the Great War, in Men and Money, to the Allied Powers.

The total casualties of all the belligerent countries are estimated in the "Problem of Armaments," by A. G. Enoch:—

Killed	...	...	...	8,847,024
Wounded	...	...	...	20,927,459

Prof. Bogart, of the Carnegie Institute, estimates the total direct and indirect costs of the War to all countries as follows:—

Total direct costs, net	...	...	...	...	\$ 186,233,637,097
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#### Indirect costs:

Capitalised value of human life—	\$	
Soldiers	...	33,551,276,280
Civilians	...	33,551,276,280
Property losses—		
On land	...	29,960,000,000
Shipping and Cargo	...	6,800,000,000
Loss of Production	...	45,000,000,000
War Relief	...	1,000,000,000
Loss to Neutrals	...	1,750,000,000
	<u>\$151,612,552,560</u>	
Total indirect costs	...	151,612,552,560
GRAND TOTAL	...	\$337,846,189,657

Equivalent at par rate of exchange to over £70,000,000,000  
(SEVENTY THOUSAND MILLION POUNDS).

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## Part I. Principal Allies.

ITEM.	GREAT BRITAIN.	FRANCE.	UNITED STATES.	ITALY.	RUSSIA.
<b>CASUALTIES.</b>					
Known Dead	807,451	1,427,000	107,284	507,160	2,762,064
Seriously Wounded	617,740	700,000	43,000	500,000	1,000,000
Otherwise Wounded	1,441,394	2,344,000	148,000	462,196	3,950,000
Missing	64,907	453,500	4,912	?	2,500,000
<b>SHIPPING LOST THROUGH ACTS OF WAR.</b>					
Gross Tonnage	... 7,757,000	Tons. 88,000	Tons. 395,000	Tons. 846,000	Tons. 183,000
<b>WAR EXPENDITURE.</b>					
Gross Expenditure	£805,000,000	£163,000,000	£416,000,000	£483,000,000	£
Advance to Allies	1,739,000,000	390,446,000	1,891,000,000	—	—
Net Cost	7,066,000,000	4,754,000,000	4,525,000,000	2,483,000,000	—
Rest of Brit. Empire:					
Gross War Expenditure,	£899,000,000				
PROPERTY LOSSES.	£359,000,000	£2,000,000,000	—	£542,000,000	£250,000,000
DURATION OF WAR.	Yrs. Ms. Dys. 4 3 7	Yrs. Ms. Dys. 4 3 8	Yrs. Ms. Dys. 1 7 4	Yrs. Ms. Dys. 3 5 19	Yrs. Ms. Dys. 3 7 3 (Made Treaty Mar. 3, 1918.)

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## Part II. Minor Allies.

ITEM.	BELGIUM.	SERBIA.	RUMANIA.	GREECE.	OTHER ALLIES.
					Japan's and Portugal's Casualties.
<b>CASUALTIES.</b>					
Known Dead	267,000	707,343	339,117	15,000	Jap'n. Port'l.
Seriously Wounded	...	322,000	200,000	10,900	300 ... 4,000
Otherwise Wounded	100,000	28,000	—	30,000	— ... 5,000
Missing	10,000	100,000	116,000	45,000	997 ... 12,000
<b>SHIPPING LOST OF WAR THROUGH ACTS</b>					3 ... 200
Gross Tonnage	...	84,000 tons	—	346,000 tons	Japan :
WAR EXPENDITURE.	...	Inc. in "Other Allies," last column.	Inc. in "Other Allies," last column.	120,000 tons	£793,000,000
Gross Expenditure	...	Inc. in "Other Allies," last column.	Inc. in "Other Allies," last column. (Serbia, Albania, and Montenegro,	—	—
<b>PROPERTY LOSSES.</b>					
	£1,400,000,000	£400,000,000	£200,000,000	—	—
Yrs. Ms. Dys.	4 3 7	4 3 14	Yrs. Ms. Dys.	Yrs. Ms. Dys.	Montenegro : Yrs. Ms. Dys.
DURATION OF WAR.					1 6 10 1 11 18 (Entered war Aug. 29, 1916; made Treaty Mar. 6, 1918.)

**B. Preparations for the Next War.**

The following tables are compiled from the "Armaments Year Book" for 1924, published by the League of Nations:—

**Table I. Armies of the World.**

This table shows the estimated "peace strength" of the armies of the principal powers. In the case of conscript countries this "peace strength" can be swollen tremendously within a few days by calling up the men who have completed their training and returned to civil life.

**ARMIES OF THE WORLD, ESTIMATES 1924 OR NEAREST YEAR.**

Country	Strength of Regular Army.	Country	Strength of Regular Army.
Belgium ... ... C 103,665*		Brought forward	2,661,663
Great Britain ... ... 147,940†		Rumania ... C 146,564	
India: British Regulars 61,964		Jugo Slavia ... C 115,740	
Natives ... ... 165,107		Spain ... ... C 262,500	
Czecho-Slovakia ... C 138,252		Soviet Russia ... C 600,000§	
France ... ... C 755,989‡		U.S.A. ... ... 133,264**	
Italy ... ... C 308,000		China ... ... 1,600,000††	
Japan ... ... C 235,056		Turkey ... ... 88,000§	
Poland ... ... C 276,375		Germany ... ... 100,000§§	
Other Countries ... 469,315##			
Carried forward	2,661,663	TOTAL ... ...	5,707,731

C Conscript Countries.

\* Includes 16,000 Native Troops in Congo.

† In addition 406,767 in Reserve and Territorials.

‡ Including Colonial Troops.

§ War Office reply in Parliament, 31/5/24.

\*\* In addition, Reserves and National Guards numbering 237,743.

†† Estimated 1923.

## Albania, Argentine, Austria, Brazil, Bulgaria, Chile, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Greece, Hungary, Latvia Sweden and Switzerland.

§§ Maximum allowed under Treaty.

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**Table 2. The World's Navies.**

THE WORLD'S NAVIES, ESTIMATES 1924, OR NEAREST YEAR AVAILABLE.  
TABLE II.

Country.	Battle-ships and Battle Cruisers.	Cruisers and Light Cruisers.	Torpedo Boats and Des- troyers.	Sub- marines	Other Vessels	Personnel
Great Britain ...	22	44	172	59	66	99,500
Dominions (including India) ...	—	9	14	8	33	4,912
France ...	9	18*	78†	48‡	87	58,537
Italy ...	5	15	135	43	32	45,460
Japan ...	10	14	111	37	23	40,500
Spain ...	3	5	28	7	22	15,626
Russia ...	3	2	15	9	16	—
U.S.A. ...	18	30	295	126	74	113,500
Other Countries§	14	30	246	63	236	76,164
	84	167	1,094	400	589	454,199

\* Plus 2 under construction.

† Plus 18 under construction.

‡ Plus 21 under construction.

§ Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Chile, China, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Greece, Latvia, Holland, Norway, Poland, Rumania, Jugoslavia and Sweden.

(For continuation, see next page)

## Index Numbers of Comparative Purchasing Power of Money— Wages in London and certain cities abroad at 1st July, 1924.

City.	July 1st, 1924.	Jan. 1st, 1924.	July 1st, 1923.	1914.
London ...	100	100	100	100
Amsterdam ...	82	92	99	68
Berlin ...	48	48	—	—
Brussels ...	52	60	62	61
Christiania ...	66	89	90	77
Lisbon ..	30	—	—	—
Madrid ...	52	—	62	42
Milan ...	43	—	—	—
Ottawa ...	171	190	136	181
Paris ...	67	84	91	—
Philadelphia ...	211	—	—	187
Prague ...	49	92	65	84
Rome ...	42	—	—	—
Stockholm ...	76	88	86	74
Vienna ...	46	47	50	69
Warsaw ...	66	50	76	93

## Table 3. The World's Air Fleets.

The next war, we are frequently told will be decided by aerial forces. The following table shows the strength of the air fleets in various countries. Unfortunately there are no figures available for two of the great allied powers, Italy and U.S.A., and some of the other figures are incomplete. It will be remembered that under the terms of the Peace Treaties, Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria are forbidden to maintain military aircraft of any kind.

## WORLD'S AIR FLEETS, 1924 OR LATEST FIGURES.

TABLE III.

Country.	Heavier than Air.					Lighter than Air.			Per- sonnel.
	Bomb- ing.	Fight- ing.	Re- conais- sance.	Mis- cel- laneous.	Total	Air- ships.	Bal- loons.		
Belgium ...	24	90	120	—	234	—	8	1,990	
Great Britain ...	241	117	219	22	599	*	1	35,000	
India ...	?	?	?	?	72	?	?	2,113	
Czecho-Slovakia ...	...	94	134	—	228	—	4	+	
France ...	452	362	728	—	1,542	15	42	33,500	
Italy‡ ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Japan ...	18	174	356	—	548	2	10	6,156§	
Spain ...	—	51	344	—	395	—	13	279	
U.S.A.†† ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10,000**	
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
TOTAL ...	735	888	1,901	22	3,618	17	78	89,038	
Minor Powers‡‡ ...	30	163	419	—*	726	—	13	2,799	
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
GRAND TOTAL	765	1,051	2,320	22	4,344	17	91	91,837	

\* Airships have been handed over for Civil Aviation.

† Included in Army. See Table I.

‡ No figures available. See Table IV. for expenditure.

§ Flying Personnel only.

\*\* Approximate figure.

†† Strength of Air Fleet not stated.

‡‡ Albania, Argentine, Canada, New Zealand, Chile, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Latvia, Holland and Colonies, Jugo Slavia, Sweden, Switzerland.

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Table 4. The Cost.

The estimated military expenditure of the five great allied powers in 1924-25 is £366,024,000, not including Indian or British expenditure. This compares with £266,816,000 in 1913, when the race in armaments with Germany was going on. So, in spite of the fact that Germany and Austria are now quite powerless to make war, their late competitors are spending £100,000,000 more on warlike preparations than before the Great War.

EXPENDITURE ON WAR PREPARATIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL ALLIED POWERS, AND SOME MINOR POWERS.

(Exchange calculated at the rate current at the beginning of each Country's Financial Year.

TABLE IV.

Country.	Budget for year.	Estimated Expenditure.				Total.
		Army.	Navy.	Air-Force.		
Great Powers.		1,000 £'s	1,000 £'s	1,000 £'s	1,000 £'s	
Great Britain	1924-25	45,896	56,505	14,763	122,005*	
India ...	1924-25	43,333	640	+	43,973	
France ...	1924	48,651‡	12,142	+	60,793	
Italy ...	1924-25	20,901§	6,925	3,980**	31,806	
Japan ...	1923-24	16,204	6,140	+	22,344	
U.S.A. ...	1924-25	54,159	68,365	6,552	129,676	
Minor Powers.					409,997	
Belgium ...	1924	††	††	††	6,824	
Czecho-Slovakia	1924	††	none	††	16,459	
Spain ...	1923-24	26,398##	5,455	†	31,853	
					465,133	

Includes £4,841,000 cost of services in Middle East shown on Colonial Office Vote.

† Included in Army Budget.

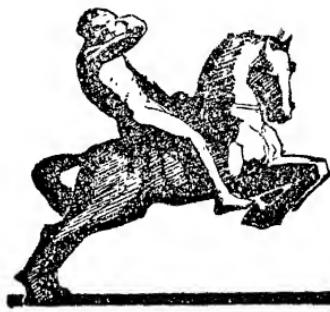
‡ Includes expenditure on Rhine Occupation recoverable from Germany.

§ Includes grants to Colonies for military purposes.

\*\* Double the expenditure for 1923-24 and four times that for 1922-23.

†† Not separately stated.

## Including cost of Moroccan War.



Energy is good—but energy needs direction. Labour is gaining power, but power is wasted if it is not directed to the best ends.

Ruskin College is designed to assist the workers to develop their capacity to think for themselves and thus further the Working Class Movement in its efforts for social and industrial emancipation.

For those who cannot take the residential courses we offer postal tuition in the under-mentioned subjects. Look through the list and ask yourself which you need to assist you in your work for Labour.

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Government — English Composition and Grammar —  
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Industrial Law.*

*Write for new descriptive booklet to the  
Secretary, Correspondence Department,*

**RUSKIN COLLEGE, OXFORD**

# THE INTERNATIONAL in 1924.

## (a) Political Internationals.

### (1) LABOUR AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL.

**I**N London, on September 28th, 1924, the sixtieth anniversary of the Socialist International was celebrated.

In 1864, at a meeting in St. Martin's Hall, London, the first International Workers' Organisation was formed. Karl Marx was on its general council and drafted many of the reports and resolutions laid before the International Congresses held in subsequent years—at Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868), Bâle (1869), The Hague (1872). The reactions of the Franco-Prussian War, and, in particular, the Commune of 1871, brought disaster. At the same time a destructive internal division rent the shaken forces of the International—between Marx and Bakunin, Socialism and Anarchism. In 1872, therefore, the first International was dissolved.

THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL was founded on July 14th, 1889, at a Congress in Paris. At first the constitution was very loose; in 1896, however, Anarchists and anti-Parliamentarians were excluded and, in 1900 conditions of admission were definitely laid down. In the same year a permanent secretariat and representative governing bureau were established and located from that year until 1914 at Brussels, Camille Huysmans being secretary. Congresses took place, up to the outbreak of the war, at Paris (1889), Brussels (1891), Zurich (1893), London (1896), Paris (1900), Amsterdam (1904), Stuttgart (1907), Copenhagen (1910), Bâle (1912).

The outbreak of the world war brought all international work to a sudden standstill. During the war, there was no meeting of the International Bureau. There were a series of efforts at International action, of which the most important was the scheme of the Dutch and Scandinavian Committee (ceaselessly pressed by the International Secretary, Camille Huysmans) for an International Conference at Stockholm in 1917. Had passports been allowed for this by the British and other Governments, some of the disasters of Versailles might have been averted, and Socialist divisions might have been less deep. At

Zimmerwald in 1915, and Kienthal, in 1916, conferences of minority sections were organised by the Italian Socialist, Mogari.

After the Armistice, the need of international unification was again actively felt. The Conferences at Berne (February, 1919), Lucerne (August, 1919), and Geneva (August, 1920), were intended to re-establish the Second International. Meantime, however, the so-called THIRD INTERNATIONAL had been founded at Moscow, and before long, from parties that did not wish to affiliate with either the Second or Third, there sprang the International Working Union of Socialist Parties, known as the VIENNA UNION. In Berlin, 1922, representatives from the Second, the Third, and the Vienna Union, met in Berlin, to try to ré-establish an all-inclusive International. So far as the Third, the attempt failed, since pledges given at the time by Moscow's representatives were subsequently torn up.

On December 10th, 1922, there was a meeting at the Hague between the Second and the Vienna Union; a joint committee was formed and a joint appeal issued, inviting all Labour and Socialist parties to an International Congress. This Congress, held in Hamburg on May 27th, 1923, was a brilliant success; 620 delegates from 30 countries were present. Unification was carried through; the Second and the Vienna Union dissolved, and a new body, the **Labour and Socialist International**, took their place. It represents more than *seven million* organised workers.

*Headquarters.* Secretariat: 4 Great Smith Street, London, S.W.1. 'Phone Victoria 9474. Telegrams: Intersocia Parl, London. Secretaries (joint): Tom Shaw, M.P., Friedrich Adler. Treasurer: R. C. Wallhead, M.P.

*Constitution.* The principal part of the Constitution adopted at Hamburg reads as follows:—

(1) The Labour and Socialist International is a union of such parties as accept the principle of the economic emancipation of the workers from capitalist domination and the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth as their object, and the class struggle which finds its expression in the independent political and industrial action of the workers' organisations as a means of realising that object.

(2) The object of the L.S.I. is to unify the activities of the affiliated parties, to arrange common action, and to bring about

## SOCIALIST ANNUAL, 1925

the entire unification of the International Labour and Socialist movement on the basis of this Constitution.

The parties associated in the L.S.I. undertake<sup>1</sup> not to affiliate to any other political international.

(3) The Labour and Socialist International can only become a reality if its decisions in all international questions are binding on its affiliated bodies. The resolutions of the International will therefore imply a self-imposed limitation of the autonomy of the affiliated organisations.

(4) The L.S.I. is not only an effective instrument in peace but just as absolutely essential during war.

In conflicts between nations the International shall be recognised as the highest authority.

*Organisation.* Executive Committee: Berger, Hillquit (America), Varandian (Armenia), Bauer, Skaret (Austria), De Brouckere, Vandervelde (Belgium), Nemec (Czecho-Slovakia, Czech S.P.), Szech (Czecho-Slovakia, German S.P.), Andersen, Madsen (Denmark), Wiik (Finland), Bracke, Longuet (France), Tseretelli (Georgia), Crispin, Mueller, Wels (Germany), Allen, Cameron, Cramp (Great Britain),\* Troelstra (Holland), Peidl (Hungary), Modigliani, Treves (Italy), Nilssen (Norway), Diamand (Poland), Pistiner (Rumania), Abramowitsch (Russia), S.D., Suchomlin (Russia, S.R.), Besteiro (Spain), Engberg, Lindstroem (Sweden), Bezpalko (Ukraine), Topalovic (Jugo-Slavia, Bulgaria, Turkey), Cielens (Latvia, Estonia), Drobner (Poland, Independent S.P.—Poland, German S.P.—Dantzig).

Bureau: Abramowitsch (Russia), Bauer (Austria), Bracke (France), Cramp (Great Britain), Engberg (Scandinavian Countries), Modigliani (Italy), Troelstra (Holland), Vandervelde (Belgium), Wels (Germany).

Administrative Committee: Adler (Secretary), Allen, Mrs. Bell, Brailsford, C. R. Buxton, Cameron, Cramp (Chairman), Shaw (Secretary), Wallhead (Treasurer), Morrison (Substitute).

*Activities.* Executive Meetings (every three months): Luxemburg (February, 1924), Vienna (June, 1924), London (September, 1924), Brussels (January, 1925).

\* J. R. MacDonald, Arthur Henderson, and other members of the British Labour Government, appointed on the Executive and Administrative Committee, resigned their seats on the formation of that Government.

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Bureau Meetings : Brussels (July, 1923), Brussels (October, 1923), Brussels (January, 1925).

Joint Meetings with International Federation of Trade Unions : Brussels (October, 1923), Vienna (June, 1924), Amsterdam (July, 1924), Brussels (January, 1925).

Party Conferences : Conference on Reparations (London, July, 1923), Conference of Balkan Socialist Parties (Bucharest, March, 1924).

Commissions of Reconciliation : Czecho-Slovakia (Prague, October, 1923), Hungary (Vienna, January, 1925).

Celebration of 60th Anniversary of the Foundation of the First International (London, September 28th, 1924).

Next International Congress to be held in August or September, 1925, in France.

*Resolutions.* Manifestoes issued : re May-day, 1924; re Anniversary of Outbreak of War, July, 1924; re Sixty Years of International, September, 1924.

Resolutions adopted re : Armenia (at Hamburg and Luxembourg), Bakeries, nightwork (Brussels), Balkans (Vienna, London), Eight-Hours Day (Hamburg, Luxembourg, Vienna, Brussels), Egypt (Brussels), Fascism (Hamburg), Georgia (Hamburg, Luxembourg, London), Geneva Protocol (Brussels), Hungary (Hamburg, Luxembourg, Vienna), Italy (Brussels), Occupied Territories (Hamburg, Luxembourg, Brussels), Peace Treaties (Hamburg), Reaction (Hamburg), Reparations (Hamburg), Brussels, Luxembourg, Amsterdam), Russia (Hamburg, Luxembourg, Vienna, London).

*Publications.* Bulletin of the L.S.I. (periodically in English, French and German). International Information (weekly for Press use in English, French and German). Resolutions of the Hamburg Congress, including the Constitution of the L.S.I. (English, French and German). Report on the Hamburg Congress (German). Address and Provisional Rules of the International Working Men's Association (1864); reprinted from the original for the celebration of the 60th anniversary (English).

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## Membership of Affiliated Parties.

America	...	...	15,000	Greece	...	...	3,500
Argentine	...	...	8,000	Holland	...	39,500	
Armenia	...	...	?	Hungary	...	190,000	
Austria—				Italy	...	...	?
Socialist Party	...	...	566,100	Jugo-Slavia	...	...	—
Czech S.P.	...	...	14,700	Latvia	...	...	2,600
Belgium	...	...	621,000	Lithuania	...	...	2,000
British-Guiana	...	...	1,100	Luxemburg	...	...	—
Bulgaria	...	...	28,800	Norway	...	...	8,000
Czecho-Slovakia—				Palestine	...	...	—
Czech S.P.	...	...	100,000	Poland—			
German S.P.	...	...	72,200	P.P.S.	...	...	59,600
Hungarian S.P.	...	...	2,000	German S.P.	...	...	3,000
Polish S.P.	...	...	2,000	Independent S.P.	...	...	—
Ruthenian S.P.	...	...	6,400	Rumania	...	...	12,600
Dantzig	...	...	3,500	Russia—			
Denmark	...	...	130,000	S.D.P.	...	...	?
Estonia	...	...	—	S.R.P.	...	...	?
Finland	...	...	28,000	Spain	...	...	8,000
France	...	...	73,000	Sweden	...	...	138,500
Georgia	...	...	?	Turkey	...	...	—
Germany	...	...	869,000	Ukraine	...	...	?
Great Britain	...	...	3,126,000				

## Labour's Parliamentary Representation.

Total of Seats. Socialists. Communists.

America	...	53 <sup>1</sup>	2	—
Argentine	...	—	16	—
Austria	...	165	68	—
Belgium	...	186	68	—
Bulgaria	...	250	29	7
Czecho-Slovakia—				
Czech S.P.	...	51		
German S.P.	...	30		
Ruthenian S.P.	...	1		
Denmark	...	149	55	—
England	...	615	151	1
Estonia	...	—	32	—
Finland	...	200	60	18
France	...	548	104	27
Germany	...	493	131	45
Holland	...	100	20	2
Hungary	...	245	24	—
Italy	...	535	25	17 (and 22 Maximalists)
Jugo-Slavia	...	—	2	—
Latvia	...	100	31	— (and 7 Mensheviks)
Lithuania	...	78	8	—
Luxemburg	...	—	6	—
Norway	...	150	8	6 (and 24 "Labour Party")
Poland	...	444	41	2
Rumania	...	369	1	—
Spain	...	408	7	—
Sweden	...	230	104	5 (and 1 Indep. Comm.)
Switzerland	...	—	43	2

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## The Labour Vote.

	Socialists.	(%)	Communists	(%)
Argentine	... 80,529	—	4,628	—
Austria	... 1,311,870	39.6	22,16;	0.67
Belgium	... 672,900	34.8	3,165	0.15
Czecho-Slovakia—				
Czech S.P.	... 1,590,000	—	?	—
German S.P.	... 684,200	—	?	—
Denmark	... 469,949	36.5	6,219	0.48
England	... 5,551,549	34	68,989	0.42
Finland	... 254,672	28.9	91,664	10.5
Germany	... 7,880,058	26	2,758,176	9
Holland	... 567,772	19.4	53,664	1.8
Hungary	... 272,359	—	—	—
Italy	... 796,596	—	304,682	—
Latvia	... 242,000	31.5	—	—
Lithuania	... 102,000	10	—	—
Norway	... 87,000	9	58,000	—
Poland	... 911,067	—	121,000	—
Spain	... 50,000	—	—	—
Sweden	... 725,844	41.1	65,283	3.7

In America, Bulgaria and France the real Labour vote cannot be traced, the Socialists having formed electoral combinations with other parties.

## List of Addresses of Parties Affiliated to the L.S.I.

AMERICA : Socialist Party. National Office: Bertha Hale White, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago. International Secretary: Morris Hillquit, 19 West 44th Street, New York City.

ARGENTINE : Socialist Party. General Secretary: Rivadavia 20809, Buenos Aires.

ARMENIA : Revolutionary Federation "Daschnakzoutioun." M. Varandian, 3, Avenue Beau-Séjour, Geneva.

AUSTRIA : Social-Democratic Labour Party. Secretary: Rechte Wienzeile 97, Vienna V.

— Czech Social-Democratic Labour Party. Secretary: Margaretenplatz 7, Vienna V.

BELGIUM : Labour Party. General Secretary: Joseph van Roosbroeck, Maison du Peuple, 17 Rue Joseph Stevens, Brussels.

BRITISH GUIANA : Labour Union. Secretary: 142, Regent Street, Lacytown, Georgetown, Demerara.

BULGARIA : Social-Democratic Labour Party. Secretary: D. Neikoff, 22, Rue Lomska, Sofia.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA : Czech Social-Democratic Labour Party. Secretary: Hybernska 7, Prague.

— German Social-Democratic Labour Party. Secretary: Havlickovo namesti 32, Prague.

— Hungarian Social-Democratic Party. Secretary: Venturgasse 7, Bratislava.

— Polish Socialist Labour Party. Secretary: Rynek 24, Frysztat.

— Ruthenian Social-Democratic Labour Party. Secretary: Voitech Picha, Rasinova 10, Uzhorod.

DANTZIG : Social-Democratic Party. Secretary: E. Klauss, Spendhaus 6, Dantzig.

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- DENMARK: Social-Democratic Party. Secretary: Alsing Andersen, 22, Roemergade, Copenhagen.
- ESTHONIA: Social-Democratic Labour Party. Secretary: Kuninga nul 8, Reval.
- ENGLAND: British Labour Party. Secretary: 33, Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1.
- Independent Labour Party. Secretary: A. Fenner Brockway, 14, Great George Street, London, S.W.1.
- FINLAND: Social-Democratic Party. Secretary: T. Tainio, Sirkusk 3, Helsinki.
- FRANCE: Socialist Party (S.F.I.O.). General Secretary: Paul Faure, 12 Rue Feydeau, Paris.
- GEORGIA: Social-Democratic Labour Party. 1. Tseretelli, Rond Point de Longchamps, 4 Impasse des Prêtres, Paris.
- GERMANY: Social-Democratic Party. Secretary: Berlin, S.W. 68, Lindenstrasse 3.
- GREECE: Socialist Party. Secretary: N. Yannios, 15, Rue Paparigopoulo, Athens.
- HOLLAND: Social-Democratic Labour Party. Secretary: C. Werkhoven, 376 Keizersgracht, Amsterdam.
- HUNGARY: Social-Democratic Party. Secretary: Josef Buechler, Erzsébet koerut 41, Budapest.
- Socialist Emigrants "Világosság." Dr. Sigmund Kunfi, c/o Arbeiter Zeitung, Rechte Wienzeile 97, Vienna V.
- ITALY: United Socialist Party (Partito Socialista Unitario). Secretary: Via Guardiola 30, Rome.
- JUGO-SLAVIA: Socialist Party. Dr. Zivko Topalovic, Bokeljska 4, Beograd.
- LATVIA: Social-Democratic Labour Party. Secretary: Bruno Kalnin, Matīsa iela 11/13, Riga.
- LITHUANIA: Social-Democratic Party. Secretary: Vlada Pozela, Keistutis gatve 40, Kaunas.
- LUXEMBURG: Labour Party. Secretary: Hubert Clément, 101, Rue Victor Hugo, Esch-sur-Alzette.
- NORWAY: Social-Democratic Labour Party. Secretary: Magnus Nillsen, Øvre Slorsgate 15 B IV., Kristiania.
- PALESTINE: Jewish Labour and Socialist Federation, "Poale Zion." Secretary: Blumauergasse 1, Vienna II.
- POLAND: Socialist Party (P.P.S.). Secretary: Warecka 7, Warsaw.
- German Social-Democratic Party. \* Secretary: Dworcowa 11, Katowice.
- Independent Socialist Party. Dr. Boleslav Drobner, ul. Straszewskiego 25, Cracow.
- RUMANIA: Federation of Socialist Parties. Ilie Moscovici, Strada Oțeteleseanu 5, Bucharest.
- RUSSIA: Social-Democratic Labour Party. Foreign Delegation: R. Abramowitzsch, Courbijerestrasse 12, Berlin.
- Socialist Revolutionary Party. Vassilij Suchomlin, c/o *Le Peuple*, 35, Rue des Sables, Brussels.
- SPAIN: Socialist Party. Secretary: Andrés Saborit, Calle de Carranza 20, apartado 10,036, Madrid.
- SWEDEN: Social-Democratic Labour Party. Secretary: Gustav Moeller, Barnhusgatan 16, Stockholm.

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TURKEY: Independent Socialist Party. Secretary: Chakir Rassim, Béchik-Tache, Keny Itchi 57, Constantinople.  
UKRAINE: Central Committee of Social-Democrats. Secretary: O. Merkling, Arbes'va 6/III, Prague-Vrsovice.

### (2) COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

*History.* Founded March, 1919, at Moscow. Second World Congress, 1920; Third, 1921; Fourth, 1922; Fifth, 1924. All Congresses held in Moscow.

*Constitution:* The "Statutes of the Comintern" say on "I.—Name and Object":

Par. 1.—The new International Workers' Association is an amalgamation of the Communist parties of the various countries into a world party, which, in its capacity of leader and organiser of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat of all countries, fights for the adoption of Communist principles and aims by the majority of the working class and by large sections of the poor peasantry, for the formation of a world Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, for the total abolition of classes, and for the realisation of Socialism, which is the initial stage of the Communist social order.

The Statutes are preceded by an introduction drawn up by the Second World Congress, which includes the Twenty-one Points for affiliation, part of which reads as follows:—

(4) The duty of spreading Communist ideas includes the special obligation to carry on a vigorous and systematic propaganda in the army. Where this agitation is forbidden by exceptional laws it is to be carried on illegally. Renunciation of such activities would be the same as treason to revolutionary duty and would be incompatible with membership in the Third International.

(6) Every party that wishes to belong to the Third International is obligated to unmask not only open social patriotism, but also the dishonesty and hypocrisy of social pacifism, and systematically bring to the attention of the workers the fact that, without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no kind of an international court of arbitration, no kind of an agreement regarding the limitation of armament, no kind of a "democratic" renovation of the League of Nations will be able to prevent fresh imperialistic wars.

(10) Every party belonging to the Communist International is obligated to carry on a stubborn struggle against the Amsterdam International of the yellow Trade Unions. It must carry on a

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most emphatic propaganda amongst the workers organised in trade unions for a break with the yellow Amsterdam International. With all its means it must support the rising international association of the Red trade unions which affiliate with the Communist International.

(11) Parties wishing to belong to the Third International are obligated to subject the personnel of the Parliamentary groups to a revision, to cleanse these groups of all unreliable elements, and to make these groups subject to the Party Executives, not only in form but in fact, by demanding that each Communist member of Parliament subordinate his entire activities to the interests of genuinely revolutionary propaganda and agitation.

(13) The Communist parties of those countries where the Communists carry on their work legally must from time to time institute cleansings (now registrations) of the personnel of their party organisation in order systematically to rid the party of the petit bourgeois elements creeping into it.

(21) Those party members who, on principle, reject the conditions and theses laid down by the Communist International are to be expelled from the party.

*Organisation.* Executive Committee : Zinoviev, Bucharin, Stalin, Kameneff, Rykoff (Russia), Geschke, Schlecht, Rosenberg (Germany), Semard, Treint, Sellier (France), Pollitt, MacManus (Great Britain), Bordiga, Ercoli (Italy), Fiala (Austria), Jacquemotte (Belgium), Kolaroff (Bulgaria), Wynkoop (Holland), Boskovic, Malinovic (Jugo-Slavia), Roy (India), Schefflo (Norway), Grzegoszewski (Poland), Chrestescu (Rumania), Manuilski, Frunse (Ukraine), Kuusinen (Finland), Neurath, Smeral, Muna (Czecho-Slovakia), Perez, Polis (Spain), Voinovitch, Schueller, Hessen (Youth International), Semaon (Java), Katayama (Japan), Penelon (South America), Zetkin, and representatives from America (2), Ireland, China.

Presidium : Zinoviev, Bucharin, Stalin (Russia), Thaelmann, Geschke (Germany), Semard (France), Pollitt, MacManus (Great Britain), Ercoli (Italy), Manuilski (Ukraine), Smeral (Czecho-Slovakia), Schefflo (Scandinavian Countries), Kuusinen, Kolaroff, Katayama, Voinovitch.

Organising Bureau : Kuusinen, Geschke, Piatnitzki, Humbert-Droz, Treint, Schueller, Bogutzki, Mikiewicz, MacManus, Bela Kun, Petrov, and three others.

Secretariat : Kuusinen, Geschke, Piatnitzki, Treint, Humbert-Droz. Women's Secretary : Zetkin.

Membership of Affiliated Parties to Communist International.						
America	...	...	27,000	Ireland	...	...
Argentine	...	...	3,500	Italy	...	...
Armenia	...	...	1,900	Japan	...	...
Australia	...	...	250	Java	...	...
Austria	...	...	—	Jugo-Slavia	...	...
Azerbeidjan	...	...	7,200	Korea	...	?
Belgium	...	...	590	Latvia	...	...
Bulgaria	...	...	?	Lithuania	...	—
Brazil	...	...	350	Mongolia	...	...
Canada	...	...	4,000	Norway	...	...
Chili	...	...	2,000	Mexico	...	...
China	...	...	800	Palestine	...	...
Czecho-Slovakia	...	...	130,000	Persia	...	...
Denmark	...	...	700	Poland	...	...
Egypt	...	...	700	Portugal	...	...
Estonia	...	...	3,250	Rumania	...	...
Finland	...	...	—	Russia	...	...
France	...	...	50,000	South Africa	...	...
Georgia	...	...	11,000	Spain	...	...
Germany	...	...	350,000	Sweden	...	...
Great Britain	...	...	3,700	Switzerland	...	...
Greece	...	...	2,200	Turkey	...	...
Holland	...	...	1,700	Ukraine	...	...
Hungary	...	...	—	Uruguay	...	...
Iceland	...	...	450	White Russia	...	...
India	...	...	?			

The figures are taken from the official report of the Fifth Congress of the Communist International, 38 out of 46 affiliated parties having diminished in membership since the Fourth Congress.

## BANKRUPTCIES IN 1924.

THE Board of Trade's bankruptcy figures are not yet available, but according to the *Weekly Gazette*, issued by Messrs. Stubbs, 1924, for the first time since 1920, showed a decrease in the number of failures.

		No. of Failures.	Value of Liabilities.	Value of Assets.
1920	..	2,286		
1921	..	5,640		
1922	..	7,636		
1923	..	8,146	£5,893,751	£2,479,866
1924	..	7,984	£4,780,603	£2,203,287

These figures cover bankruptcies and deeds of arrangement for the United Kingdom.

Bills of sale registered in England and Wales in 1924, numbered 16,333, against 14,334 in 1923; the amount of mortgages and charges registered by English limited companies rose from £96,962,272 in 1923, to £133,155,524 in 1924.

# THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION MOVEMENT\*

By P. J. Schmidt, Amsterdam.

**I**N a short study of the International Trades Union movement the International Federation of Trades Unions (I.F.T.U.) claims first place, since the so-called "Neutral," "Syndicalist" and "Christian" International Federations are still hardly important enough to be mentioned, and both in membership and general influence the I.F.T.U. (Amsterdam) is more important than the "Red" T.U. International (Moscow).

Generally speaking, the continental Trades Unions (unlike those of Great Britain) only became properly organised after the more advanced workers had founded more or less solid national Socialist bodies which represented their struggle for social justice in the Houses of Parliament.

Before the war the international outlook of the workers was chiefly represented by the Second Socialist International—a body to which the political parties based upon Socialist principles were affiliated. It soon became clear, however, that the industrial aims of the workers had to be expressed internationally. And although, before the war, little was known and heard of International Trade Unionism, efforts to found a permanent industrial Trade Union bureau date as far back as 1901. In that year, at the Scandinavian Labour congress, a conference took place at which secretaries of T.U. Federations in seven countries (including Britain) were represented. In 1903 it was decided to appoint an industrial secretary, . . . "who had to maintain the connection between the national Federations and to prepare the reports of the national secretaries for the next general conference." Berlin became the seat of the international secretariat. In 1913, on the eighth Conference, the "international secretariat" was formally changed into the International Federation of Trade Unions. This was merely a change in name, which did not really affect the organisation. From 1903, Karl Legien, chairman of the German T.U. Federation, was international secretary, and in 1913 he was elected president of the I.F.T.U. In 1914, at the outbreak of war, 20 national federations were affiliated to the I.F.T.U., with a total membership of about eight millions. Its influence was

steadily growing, though its activities did not go far beyond reporting Trade Union matters in different countries.

The great war broke the steady course of international Trade Union development. Even the information services ceased to exist. However, to maintain some connection between the secretariats in the belligerent nations, a branch office of the I.F.T.U. was founded in Amsterdam at the end of 1914.

The first important step towards the restoration of the international Trade Union movement was the extraordinary Conference in Bern, February 5th to 9th, 1919, when international Labour legislation was discussed. It was clearer than ever that international Trade Unionism had to fight the Capitalist production system. The conference therefore, while in favour of an autonomous League of Nations stated emphatically that the workers had to form their own solid international organisations, to prevent the League from becoming an instrument of reaction and suppression.

The next and definite step was taken in Amsterdam, at the beginning of August, 1919. At a conference consisting of delegates from 14 countries, representing something like 18 millions of workers, the old international was wound up; a new and stronger International Federation of Trade Unions was created.

### Present Rules of the I.F.T.U.

*Composition.*—The International Federation of Trade Unions is composed of the National T.U. centres of the various countries. The affiliated bodies have to adopt the policy and objects of the I.F.T.U., but the autonomy of the Trade Union movement of each country is, of course, guaranteed.

*Objects.*—The first object of the I.F.T.U. is to bring about the unity of the international working-class, by developing closer relations between the Trade Unions of all countries. Next comes the promotion of the interests and activities of the Trade Unions movement, nationally and internationally, including the promotion of the development of International social legislation and workers' education. Finally, the I.F.T.U. has the duty "to avert war and combat reaction."

*Management.*—The management of the I.F.T.U. consists of an Executive Committee and a General Council, acting in accordance with the decisions of the Congress. The Executive Committee is composed of a president, three vice-presidents, and three secretaries. The General Council is composed of (a) the members of the Executive Committee and (b) one delegate from each of the 17 countries or groups of countries. The Executive meets at least six times a year, while the meetings of the General Council are held twice a year, but extraordinary meetings can be held, either on the demand of the Executive or on the demand of at least one-third of the members of the General Council.

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The Congress, the legislative body of the I.F.T.U., consists of the General Council and the delegates from the affiliated National Centres. The ordinary congress meets every three years, but extraordinary congresses may be convened at any time. The final decision on all questions rests with the congress and its work chiefly consists of (a) supervising the work of the Executive Committee and the General Council; (b) deciding upon the programme of action; (c) dealing with complaints concerning the affiliation or exclusion of National Centres; (d) electing the members of the General Council and the Executive, as well as the secretaries.

### I.F.T.U. Activities.

The methods of the I.F.T.U. include specially: (a) close co-operation with the affiliated National Centres and the International Trade Secretariats; giving support to National Trade Union activities; mediation in cases of dispute within the Trade Union movement; (b) research and information work, compilation of statistics, etc., (we may state here, that the I.F.T.U. press-service has become extremely popular in Labour circles of different countries); and (c) propaganda, particularly in favour of arbitration and disarmament.

Before the war, the consideration of the use of the most powerful weapons of the workers—the general strike and the international boycott—was chiefly left for discussion at International Socialist Conferences. After the war, however, these weapons were generally recognised as being useful and most effective means in the fight of international Trade Unionism against reaction and suppression.

Four striking incidents of recent years may be mentioned in the history of the young I.F.T.U.

I. *The International boycott against Hungary* from June 20th till August 10th, 1920. The boycott was a reply to the Hungarian "White Terror" against the workers. At first the I.F.T.U. tried to enter into negotiations with the reactionary Hungarian Government. Negotiations led to nothing; subsequently the boycott was declared. But Rumania and Yugo-Slavia, which, at that time were not yet affiliated to the I.F.T.U. did not support the boycott and the other neighbouring countries proved to be insufficiently prepared. Although the boycott partly failed, the action made an enormous impression on the enemies of Labour, the Hungarian Government was forced to make some concessions and the Hungarian Labour movement was inspired with new life.

II. *The Refusal of Munition Transport* in August, 1920, was the result of an attack of Poland against Russia. International peace was again at the point of being rudely destroyed. The I.F.T.U. strongly urged the workers to refuse any transport of munitions for war purposes. This action of the I.F.T.U. practically prevented other Governments from supporting Poland.

III. A vigorous protest against the occupation of the Ruhr was unanimously carried at the London International Conference. The threat of the I.F.T.U. to appeal to the workers, if a system of military suppression was introduced in the Ruhr and Rhineland, undoubtedly resulted in restraining the military policy of the French Government.

IV. A disarmament conference of the I.F.T.U. took place in November, 1921. A special committee was appointed for the anti-militarism and anti-war propaganda. At former conferences only *resolutions* to this effect were adopted, but here a special *organisation* was set up, which had to find connection and means of co-operation with all organisations based on no-more-war principles. An anti-war fund was formed, which by 31st December, 1923, had already collected about £18,000.

The I.F.T.U. has also been active in supporting the German Trade Unions and in helping the Russian people during the famine. Action in support of the German T.U. movement resulted in handing over about £40,000 raised by the I.F.T.U., and for Russia about £200,000 was collected.

*Membership.*—The highest figure of membership were shown in 1921/1922, when the I.F.T.U. represented about 24 million workers. Then came the general decrease in T.U. membership in all countries. Though the I.F.T.U. consequently had to reduce its staff, the general influence and activities were successfully maintained. The latest available figures show that the I.F.T.U. has now a total membership of nearly 17 million, distributed over the various countries as follows:—

Belgium	...	...	618,871	Austria	...	...	1,049,949
Bulgaria	...	...	14,803	Poland	...	...	369,991
Denmark	...	...	233,116	Rumania	...	...	36,000
Germany	...	...	7,187,251	Sweden	...	...	313,022
France	...	...	757,847	Switzerland	...	...	155,000
Great Britain	...	...	4,369,268	Spain	...	...	211,085
Holland	...	...	182,893	Czechoslovakia	...	...	388,294
Italy	...	...	212,016	Hungary	...	...	167,242
Latvia	...	...	12,658	Palestine	...	...	8,000
Jugo-Slavia	...	...	66,166	Canada	...	...	152,500
*Luxemburg	...	...	12,100	South Africa	...	...	10,000

The following countries are not yet affiliated:—United States of America, Russia, Mexico, Ireland, Australia, Japan, British India and Dutch East Indies.

### The Struggle for Unity.

The first object of the I.F.T.U., as already stated, is to bring about unity of the workers, nationally and internationally. Nationally, by supporting and promoting the amalgamation of rival Unions. But this, of course, must chiefly be left to the competence of the National Trade Union Centres.

Internationally the case is different. Here the principle of unity has to be carried forward chiefly by the I.F.T.U. itself. Here a word is necessary on the "**Red Trade Union International**", whose principal power lies in the affiliation of the Russian Trade Unions.

The differences between the I.F.T.U. and the "Red" International may, perhaps, be shortly summarised as follows. They both believe in a fundamental change of the present industrial system, in other words, in Socialism—but the I.F.T.U. believes in Socialism based upon the principles of political and industrial democracy, while the "Red" Unions believe in Socialism based upon the principles of dictatorship. Further, the Amsterdam international believes in absolute anti-militarism, and the Moscow international thinks of arming the proletariat and founding the new world by use—"if necessary"—of main force.

In spite of these differences a formula for amalgamation might have been found if the leaders of the "Red" international had been sincere about a united front. From their publications and actions it could be taken that the main purpose of negotiating with the Amsterdam international was to split that international into various communist sections, which would weaken and, in the end, destroy that international. Here the great and tragic example in the modern history of Trade Unionism is the splitting up of the French Trade Unions.

The latest development in the struggle for unity took place during the meeting of the General Council of the I.F.T.U. in Amsterdam, in the beginning of February, 1925. A resolution by Mr. Fred. Bramley, on behalf of the British T.U. Congress, for an unconditional conference being lost by 13 votes to six, and a proposal of Mr. J. Oudegeest for breaking off negotiations being withdrawn—the following compromise-resolution moved by Mr. R. Stenhuis (Holland) and seconded by Mr. Smit (Clerks' International) was passed :—

"The General Council of the I.F.T.U., after having examined the correspondence between the I.F.T.U. and the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions, instructs the Executive Committee of the I.F.T.U. to inform the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions that the I.F.T.U. is prepared to admit the All-Russian Federation of Trade Unions, when they express their desire to this effect.

"The I.F.T.U. also declares itself prepared to convene a conference in Amsterdam with the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions with a view of an exchange of opinions as soon as possible after the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions intimates its desire to be admitted to the I.F.T.U."

The resolution was carried by 14 votes to 5, Messrs. Bramley, Brown, Cook and Purcell (Great Britain), and Edo Fimmen (Transport Workers) voting against.

This proposal opens the door for further negotiations. Much depends on the way in which further proposals will be put. A great many difficulties will have to be overcome. There is,

first of all, the relation between the Russian trade unions, the Communist Party, the Soviet Government and international Communist propaganda which especially attacks the policy of the I.F.T.U. There is, secondly, the relation between the I.F.T.U. and the International Labour Office (League of Nations), with which the Russians will have nothing to do. And so on.

At the same time the negotiations for the affiliation of the American Federation of Labor are proceeding hopefully. The feeling of the absolute necessity of a united front of the workers against the continually growing forces of international capitalism is more and more dominating.

## INFANTILE MORTALITY

Year		Male	Female	All Infants
1841-50	...	167	137	153
1851-60	...	168	139	154
1861-70	...	168	139	154
1871-80	...	163	134	149
1881-90	...	155	128	142
1891-1900	...	168	138	153
1901-10	...	140	114	128
1911-20	...	101	89	100
1921	...	93	72	83
1922	...	87	66	77
1923	...	78	60	69

This table shows the substantial decline which has occurred in infantile mortality in the last 85 years. It is still, however, far too high, especially in the working-class areas. The following table compares the rate in the slum areas of London with that in the mainly middle and upper class residential districts in 1925—

Deaths of Infants under one year per 1,000 births.				
Slum Areas.			Residential Areas.	
Bermondsey	...	73	Hampstead	44
Bethnal Green	...	70	Hendon	46
Deptford	...	59	Hornsey	51
Holborn	...	79	Wealdstone	36
Poplar	...	60	Carshalton	36
St. Pancras	...	63	Merton and Morden	23
Shoreditch	...	83	Surbiton	26
West Ham	...	60	Wimbledon	45

# INDIA IN 1924

## THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

**T**HE present Constitution of India was embodied in the Government of India Act, 1919, and the Duke of Connaught, inaugurating the new regime in 1921, declared on behalf of the King-Emperor that it was "the beginning of Swaraj (Home Rule) within my Empire."

Political Parties were divided as to the efficacy of the Reforms. The non-Co-operators held aloof. The Liberals and Moderates undertook to give them a fair trial. A solid programme of work was accomplished by the first Legislative Assembly, despite the inherent difficulties of working the constitution, particularly in relation to diarchy. These defects had been stressed by the Co-operating parties during the passing of the Act, and they never agreed to the provision of the 1919 Act that ten years must elapse before a Parliamentary Commission should visit India to investigate into the working of the Reforms. They introduced a resolution in the Legislative Assembly in September, 1921, pointing out the following defects :—

1. The Executive is not responsible to, or removable by, the Legislature.
2. Limitation is placed on the powers of the Legislature in voting expenditure and there is no real "control of the purse."
3. Important portfolios, such as Finance, are still under the control of European official members.
4. Extraordinary powers are still vested in the Viceroy.

These criticisms were brought into greater relief by the action of the Viceroy in certifying the grant for the expenses of the Lee Commission and the doubling of the Salt Tax, despite the emphatic rejections of the Legislative Assembly. A feeling grew up that the reforms were a sham and that India's place in the Empire was that of a subject nation. Unfortunately, the publication of the Kenya White Paper in July, 1923, and the denouncing by General Smuts of any attempt to secure equality for Indians resident in South Africa, lent colour to this view.

The General Election of November, 1923, resulted in great victories for the Swarajist party, particularly in the Central

Provinces and Bengal. This party defined its object as "the speedy attainment of full Dominion Status," and it determined that failing a satisfactory meeting of this view, its elected members pledged themselves to "a policy of uniform, continuous, and consistent obstructions within the Councils, with a view to making Government through the Councils impossible."

This political development of the Swaraj Party under the leadership of Mr. C. R. Das, was a departure from the full policy of non-violent non-co-operation of Mr. Gandhi. The latter still believes in the efficacy of the spinning wheel as a remedy for the growing poverty. He believes in "unity between the races, the charka (spinning wheel), the removal of untouchability and the application of non-violence in thought, word, and deed to our methods as indispensable for Swaraj." On his release from prison, in February, 1924, on the grounds of ill-health, Mr. Gandhi was accorded a great national ovation. Recently Mr. Gandhi has agreed not to oppose Mr. Das' modified policy of obstruction from within the Legislature.

The Moderates and Liberals, although defeated at the polls, have continued active work in the country. A National Conference held during the year issued a valuable summary of the work of the Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Councils. In April, a Convention of 241 delegates, representing every organised body working for Home Rule, pledged itself to the essentials of a Constitution for establishing Indian Dominion Home Rule and constituting her a free nation within the British Commonwealth.

On February 8th, 1924, the British Auxiliary of the National Conference presented a memorial to the Prime Minister (J. R. MacDonald) expressing the opinion that "full responsible Government in the Provinces and complete responsibility in the Central Government except in the Military, Political and Foreign Departments should be established without delay," and drawing attention to the present difficulties arising from the system of diarchy in the Provinces; of an irresponsible Central Government controlling and superintending the administration of Transferred Departments by Ministers responsible to Local Legislatures; the absence of a majority, tacit or actual, for the Central Government in an elected Legislature, the control of the Secretary of State; and the failure to protect the interests of Indians abroad.

On March 10th, 1924, the Under-Secretary of State for India stated that the British Government's attitude as to a further instalment of reforms was indicated by the speech of Sir Malcolm Hailey, the Government Leader in the Legislative Assembly, which led to the appointment of the Reforms Inquiry Committee in June. Unfortunately, in reply to a supplementary question put by Sir Henry Craik, the Under-Secretary conveyed the impression to India that the British Government intended to adhere to the provisions of the Act of 1919 and defer the revision of the constitution for a decade. He corrected this reply on the 24th by saying that it was doubtful whether the provisions of the Act would bear the interpretation placed upon them by Sir Henry Craik. Meanwhile, on the 17th March, the Indian Legislative Assembly threw out the Budget, and on the 24th, the Bengal Legislative Assembly refused to vote the salaries of Ministers. The Central Provinces Legislative Council had rejected the Budget, with the exception of a salary of Rs : 2 for Ministers on the 8th March.

The differences between the Government of India and the elected representatives of the people have become more acute. In Bengal, when the Swarajist Party was victorious at the polls, Lord Lytton tendered office to its leader, Mr. Das, who refused on the ground that a Minister had no responsibility and was in fact the mouthpiece of the Governor. Alleging a growth of anarchical crime and assassination, the Government of India issued the Bengal Ordinance, giving it exceptional powers of arrest. It also put in force Regulation III. of 1818, and several members of the Swaraj party were detained under its provisions, including Mr. Bhose, the Chief Executive officer of the Calcutta Corporation. A Congress held in Bombay convened by Mr. Mahomed Ali and composed of 400 representative of all Indian political parties condemned the action of the Viceroy and the Governor of Bengal in this direction, and while denouncing anarchical crime, recorded its conviction that "the present political position in India is due to the denial of the just rights, long overdue, of the people, and that the speedy establishment of Swaraj is the only effective remedy therefor."

At the Indian National Congress, held at Bombay in December, 1924, under the presidency of Mr. Gandhi, the pact between him and Mr. Das was approved by a large majority. This suspends non-co-operation for the time being and allows the Swarajists to re-

present the Congress in the Legislature, under the leadership of Mr. C. R. Das. It also adopted the spinning of 2,000 yards of yarn each month as the Congress franchise. At Mr. Mohamed Ali's Conference a representative committee was appointed to consider the best method of re-uniting all political parties and to prepare a scheme of Swaraj acceptable to all.

Other questions which give rise to much friction are the position of Indians in other parts of the Empire, notably in Kenya and South Africa. Space forbids an adequate treatment of this question, but the continuance of India's connection with the British Commonwealth will be seriously affected if the British Government consents to an inferior status being imposed on Indians resident in other parts of the Empire. The Lee Commission Report, which will impose an increased burden of £700,000 a year upon India for the benefit of the higher paid services, whilst the lower paid are not dealt with, is causing grave discontent. Moreover, as the Government of India Act must be altered to carry out the recommendations, it is resented that the Government refused to alter the Act in other particulars which are essential.

The action of the Labour Government in rejecting the proposal to establish a naval base at Singapore, met with general approval amongst all political parties in India. The question of the Singapore base is closely bound up with the whole question of the Indianisation of the army in relation to the grant of responsible Government. It is realised in India that, though the goal of full Dominion Home Rule requires that India shall eventually be able to undertake her own defence, it does not follow that the ability for self-defence must necessarily precede the grant of full responsible Government. A contented India, capable of defending herself, and in a position to co-operate in the general defence of the British Commonwealth, is in every way a better alternative than the provision of a new base at Singapore. To this end it is desirable that the Indianisation of the army in India should proceed as fast as possible, and that the admission of Indians to the higher ranks of the army should proceed at a greater pace than at present is the case. The Committee of Officials and others set up in June to inquire into the working of the reforms has now submitted a majority and a minority report, the terms of which are not yet known in this country. Indian political opinion expects but little as the result of the committee's labours.

## LABOUR IN INDIA.

**A**CCORDING to the Montagu-Chelmsford Report "in the whole of India the soil supports 226 out of 315 millions, and 208 millions of them get their living directly by, or depend directly upon the cultivation of their own or others' fields." The condition of the people is one of extreme poverty. In 1850, an official estimate gave the income as 2d. per day; in 1882 it was 1½d.; and in 1900, an analytical examination of all sources of income produced a figure of ¾d. a day.

An industrial revolution is, however, at work in India. According to Sir Geo. Paish no less a sum than 379 millions of British capital was invested in 1913 in India. In addition many of the cotton mills and iron and steel works are owned by Indian capitalists. In the cotton industry the number of mills increased from 179 in 1901 to 249 in 1921; the average number of persons employed from 161,756 to 298,190; the looms from 38,891 to 109,422, and the spindles from 4,743,391 to 6,243,948. In the jute industry the persons employed increased from 114,795 to 282,728; looms from 16,119 to 41,588; and spindles from 331,382 to 869,879. Comparing all industries the total number of factories in 1892 was 656; these had increased to 3,604 in 1921; and the total number of employees had increased from 316,816 to 1,171,513. In 1878 the export of cotton goods was 2.6 per cent.; in 1921 it was 9.1 per cent. Jute had risen from 2.0 per cent. in 1878 to 26.5 per cent. in 1921.

The population of the great towns has also increased. From the last figures available the population of Calcutta has increased, since 1872, by 44.6 per cent.; Howrah, 112.9 per cent.; Bombay, 52.0 per cent.; Madras, 30.5 per cent.; Cawnpore, 41.9 per cent.; Nagpur, 20.1 per cent. Officially, attention has also been called to the fact that "a considerable landless class is developing which involves economic danger, because the increase is most marked in districts where the rural population is most congested, or in provinces in which there is special liability to periodic famine."

As a consequence, the condition of labour in India affords many parallels to the happenings of the industrial revolution in this country in the 18th century. An urban proletariat is in the making and considerable suffering prevails. Dr. G. M.

Broughton, who has conducted an investigation into Indian labour conditions, says—

"there is not yet an effective demand on the part of Labour itself for conditions which outside India are now recognised as essential. The men and women who come from the villages to the weaving and spinning sheds find themselves in surroundings that are so extraordinarily strange and novel that they cannot possibly differentiate between the conditions that are the inevitable incidents of factory life and the conditions that are susceptible of modification and improvement, only gradually does such knowledge come." But even when it does come it cannot but be very imperfect. Indians have had little experience of factories run on modern lines and so have no standard by which to judge."

The President of the Trade Union Congress at Bombay in September, 1923, stated that "out of 350,000 workers in Bombay, not even 35,000 are organised. That the mill workers, numbering 146,000, have a couple of moribund unions, 'of negligible membership,' is therefore understandable. In Ahmedabad, there are 9 unions, mostly in the textile industry, with a total membership of 19,785. Mrs. Anusuya Sarabháí is the moving spirit. The unions in Bombay are mainly railway unions. Trade Unionism is less developed in Bengal. The Committee on Industrial Unrest reported in 1921 that "any organisations found among employers are of the loosest description, while, except in a few special cases, such as those of the telegraph and railway workers, who are outside the ranks of ordinary industry, organised bodies of labour hardly exist." Unions spring into existence during a strike and die out after it is over. An all-India Trade Union Congress has met on three occasions, but its influence is not yet very great.

The death rate in England per 1,000 living in 1920 was 12.4; in India it was 30.84. The infantile mortality in England was 80 per 1,000 births; it was 556 in Bombay City, 386 in Calcutta, and 282 in Madras City. According to the latest figures (*Bombay Labour Gazette*, November, 1924), the rates of infant mortality for persons living in one room and under, are 524 per 1,000; in two rooms, 394.5; in three rooms, 255.4; in four rooms, 255.4; in four rooms and over, 246.5; in hospitals, 111.2. The average life period for the whole of India is 23.5 years and in many provinces the death rate is higher than the birth rate.

*Wages* in the textile industry may be taken as representative of the highest wages paid in India. According to Mr. Findlay Shirras the average daily earnings in the cotton industry in

Bombay are Rs. 1—5 annas—6 pice; of women 10 annas 9 pice, while children (half times) earned from 4 to 9 annas. (A rupee  $\frac{1}{4}$ ; an anna, 1d.; pice, one-twelfth of a penny.) The mill managers' claim the right to fine the workers very highly, and the right is exercised freely. It is also a common practice to pay the wages earned in one month, in the middle of the next. Consequently the workers have to borrow at high rates of interest, and many are never out of debt. In 1921, 66,226 women and 15,766 children were employed.

In the jute mills of Bengal the *earnings* of women working a full week of 9 hours a day for 6 days are between Rs. 2 and Rs. 3. Men's wages vary between Rs. 5 and Rs. 8 for  $11\frac{1}{2}$  hours a day for 6 days a week. Wages are paid weekly one week in arrears. Of the labour employed in the jute mills 16 per cent. are women and  $10\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. children.

In the mining industry large numbers of women and children are employed. Thus in 1921 there were 88,501 adult males; 57,403 adult females, and 3,395 children under 12, employed underground; and 60,665, 34,546 and 5,133 respectively above ground.

A Mines Bill was passed in 1923 which limits the hours above ground to 60 per week and 54 underground. No child under 13 is to work in a mine. Above that age they are allowed to work the same hours as adults. No limitation is placed on the employment of women. A limited Workmen's Compensation Act, applicable to workers in mines and certain specified industries, was passed in 1923. The maximum for fatal injury is Rs. 2,500, but the award is based on the average wage earned before the accident. A Factory Act was passed in 1922, whereby the age of employment was raised to 12; night work for women in ginning factories was forbidden. Hours of labour were fixed at 11 per day and 60 per week. The Government is pledged to introduce a Bill for the registration of Trade Unions.

No real representation of the working class exists in the Legislative Assembly, the Labour representatives being appointed by the Government. The Report of the Indian Trade Commissioner in 1922 stated that

"of approximately 250 millions of people residing in British India affected by the reforms there are only one million voters for the Legislative Assembly."

In January, 1924, a strike of mill hands in Bombay took place and lasted three months. The mill-owners declared in July that

they would not pay the annual bonus at the end of the year. This was equivalent to a month's wages, and the men had worked six months in the expectation of receiving it. A committee of inquiry, presided over by the Chief Justice of Bombay, found in favour of the mill-owners. The Government took no steps to enforce the payment by the mill-owners of wages earned during January and withheld by them, but supplied armed police to suppress disorder, and on one occasion strikers were shot down. Out of 150,000 workers, about one-third returned to their native villages, and the others were starved into submission.

Labour, despite all the difficulties, is raising its head in India. The words of Sir J. Miller, written as far back as 1912, are even more true to-day :—

"It is time that we revised our ideas of the unchanging East. India, at least, is changing rapidly and recent political measures have given the people a keener interest in its development and a stronger determination to play their part in influencing that development on lines of their own. There is a new consciousness of power which will react outside the merely political sphere and quicken the pulse of the country in all its movements."

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## NATIONAL RAILWAYS IN CANADA

After the war a Royal Commission was appointed to enquire into the whole Canadian Railway situation.

An Act, in 1919, constituted the Canadian National Railways Company—a Company to carry on the Railways on behalf of the State. It operates the following lines:—

Canadian Government.

International.

National Transcontinental.

Prince Edward Island and other State controlled lines; and now, also,

Canadian Northern,

Grand Trunk Pacific,

and Grand Trunk.

In 1917-18 the Government acquired the Canadian Northern Railway for \$10,800,000. In 1916-18 the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway was in difficulties. It was heavily subsidised by the Government. In 1919 the Government insisted on the payment of its debts before interest on its securities. The Ministry of Railways appointed a Receiver. In 1920 the Government took over the Railways, paying no compensation. The Grand Trunk Railway was acquired by the Government in 1919. The Arbitrators ruled that the "Preference and Common Stocks had no value" in view of the Grand Trunk's entanglements in the Grand Trunk Pacific.

In all the Canadian National Railways Company now comprises 22,000 route miles of line, operating in every province of the Dominion and including 56 per cent. of the total railway mileage of Canada, most of the rest being the Canadian Pacific System.

Under a scheme published in 1923, the national system was divided into three regions—Atlantic, Central and Western—for operating purposes, and a new organisation, termed a strengthened Divisional Scheme, has been introduced. It is intended to give each region as much autonomy in regard to local control as is consistent with efficient principles of administration. Sir H. Thornton, formerly general manager of the Great Eastern Railway in England, is Chairman and President

of the National System, which is evenly divided between ordinary commercial management and operation of the railways by a company which is virtually a State Railway Board. "Sir H. Thornton is devoting his attention to building up in his system," says the *Economist*, 10th January, 1925, "uniformity in organisation, efficiency and enterprise from top to bottom, and prestige, and the remaining debenture holders are better off under the present organisation than they would be if the previous chaotic state of Canadian Railways had continued, a condition for which the policy of the Dominion Government, or rather the lack of policy in the 20 years before the war, was largely responsible."

In 1922 the National Railways demonstrated their ability to handle within a short space of time a record volume of products and at no time was there any complaint of lack of cars, etc. There has been great financial progress. For example, for the eight months ended August, 1924, net earnings were \$556,000, as compared with a deficit of \$983,000 for the corresponding period in the previous year. The revival of the Crowsnest Agreement between the Government and the Canadian Pacific Railway, which was suspended during the war and till 1923, and which provided for 10 per cent. reduction on west-bound freight from Fort William has had a serious effect on the more recent earnings, but the potential value of the system is enormous. Sir H. Thornton says, "We will get out only when the people of Canada tell us we are a failure and want to get rid of our administration. In the case of failure the only alternative would be to hand the National Railways over to the Canadian Pacific Company and even if this Company would take them, probably the people of Canada would not allow the Government to do so."

## QUEENSLAND

**Q**UEENSLAND has been called the Queen State of the Australian Commonwealth. It is a progressive and prosperous colony with astonishing possibilities of development. Apart from its natural resources, a good deal of its promise lies in the foundations laid by the late "Ryan" Socialist Government, which succeeded in establishing profitable State ventures where the needs of the people called for State competition or State monopoly.

SOCIALIST ANNUAL, 1925

The annual return for State enterprises, 1923-24, shewed :—

	Loss	Profit
State Butchers Shops ... ...	£9,320 14 10	
State Produce Agency ... ...	3,009 19 5	
State Rly. Refreshment Rooms	13,479 6 1	
State Canneries ... ... 9,513 1 2		
State Hotel ... ...	3,905 12 6	
State Fisheries ... ... 3,922 8 3		
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	£13,435 9 5	£29,715 12 10
	<hr/>	<hr/>

a net profit of £16,280 3s. 5d. as against a loss for the previous year of £19,211 6s. 5d. On the non-commercial side, which regards these as services, not profit-making concerns, success has been marked. In estimating the value of State Enterprises this aspect is fundamentally important. Butchers, for example, have reduced and stabilised prices to the consumer. The cannery and fishery, both run at a loss, perform real services to the community. The cannery has rendered inestimable aid to the pineapple grower and to the pineapple industry generally, which was rescued from an almost perilous position.

In 1915-16 the Government went in for the butter trade and made a surplus of £32,000 which was given to the butter producers, who were mostly co-operators.

A comprehensive system of State Insurance is in force. In 1922 a profit of £10,030 was made. Since its inception the State Insurance Office has made a profit of £298,446

A conservative estimate of the saving to the people of Queensland by the establishment of State shops is £3 millions for the period 1916-1922.

The Ryan Government also established State sawmills, a State savings bank, a State legal department and State coal mines and iron works. It nationalised the sugar industry and became a shipowner. The subsequent history of these undertakings gives tremendous encouragement to those who are working to achieve public ownership and control of industry in this country.

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## MUNICIPAL TRADING IN 1924

**I**N this section will be found some indication of what has been achieved by municipalities in the direction of applying Socialism to local business. As Socialists capture local government power, municipal trading will increase, and the community, as a whole, will benefit, not only financially, but generally. Socialists advocate the extension of municipal enterprise, not primarily on the ground that certain financial improvements will follow, but because ministering to the nation's needs should be a "service" and not a "profit-making" concern. Economic considerations, however, are enormously important, and experience shows that unification and public control secure efficiency and cheapness.

Before any substantial progress can be made by local authorities, however, legislation will have to be passed by the House of Commons along the lines of The Local Authorities' (Enabling) Bill, introduced by Mr. Herbert Morrison, M.P., which is designed to facilitate the starting of new undertakings by local authorities, avoiding the protracted and expensive process of getting a special bill through Parliament in the face of the opposition of threatened interests.

With regard to municipal enterprise in general, it should be remembered that the success of any municipal undertaking is not ensured automatically; it depends, in the last analysis, upon removing the apathy of the public, and getting it to realise the necessity for co-operating actively with its public representatives and taking an intelligent interest in the work of municipal enterprises. For example, the reason why the Croydon trams are badly run in contrast with the Glasgow concern, apart from the particular difficulty of the competition of the London General Omnibus Company, is that public opinion in Croydon is backward and the consumers do not patronise the trams.

### Water.

"The water supply is in the hands of the Councils of about two-thirds of the County Boroughs of England and Wales, of nearly all the non-county boroughs, and of about half the urban districts. In ten English towns, the waterworks were originally constructed by the corporations.

## SOCIALIST ANNUAL, 1925

"EFFICIENCY, NOT PROFITS. As a rule, a better supply of water and a reduction in the charges for the supply have resulted from municipalisation, and the former has without doubt helped towards an improvement in the public health. The success of public ownership and control is to be gauged from this point of view rather than by reference to balance sheets. Generally, local authorities have not laid themselves out to make a profit from their water undertakings."

(*Municipal Year Book*, 1924.)

The annual register of the British Waterworks Association gives particulars of the principal water undertakings in Great Britain—there is no annual Government return as in the case of tramways and gas undertakings. The Sir Henry Fowler return of reproductive undertakings showed that on 31st March, 1902, there were 193 municipal corporations in England and Wales owning waterworks, with an aggregate outstanding capital of £49,556,717. In the *Municipal Year Book* of 1910 a financial summary was given for the whole of the United Kingdom for the years 1898—1902 of municipal and company water undertakings. A Local Government Board return published in 1915 gave particulars of the water undertakings in England and Wales. There were 2,100 water authorities. Of these 786 were local authorities with separate water supplies, 17 joint boards and joint committees, 200 statutory companies, 84 companies without statutory powers, and 1,055 undertakings of private proprietors.

With regard to the Metropolitan Water Board, in June, 1920, the Departmental Committee of the Ministry of Health, after an inquiry, reported that throughout the period of the Water Board's existence, its wide and populous area has been supplied with a safe and constant supply of water, that excellent arrangements have been made for securing the accurate and complete collection of its revenue, for managing its finances, and presenting its accounts in a clear and intelligible form; that elaborate arrangements have been made for keeping the quality of the water under constant and expert supervision and that provision has been made by reservoirs, intercommunication mains and other methods to secure that no part of the area shall suffer from a deficiency of supply.

The recent deficiencies are due to the too generous "compensation" terms accorded to the former owners, and the fact that the war effects on "costs" were not balanced by an increase in

## SOCIALIST ANNUAL, 1925

charges. Aberdeen has practically paid off the £560,000 which it expended on its water supply. Torquay and Tunbridge Wells have also travelled far towards freeing their water concerns from capital expenditure charges. In 1922-3 Glasgow made a profit of £2,834.

### Electricity.

In overhauling the supply of electricity in Great Britain, provision should be made for public ownership and control of the processes of generation and distribution. Whatever happens with regard to the creation of large power-stations, local works should be run by municipalities. Full details of the latest legislation and proposals will be found in the *Local Government Handbook, 1924*.

On November 31st, 1924, in England and Wales, 309 local authorities and 200 authorised concerns supplied electricity. According to the Report of the Electrical Supply Commissioners there are £36 millions of capital in private companies and £55 millions under public authorities and municipal control.

In at least 36 cases, undertakings have been acquired by local authorities after having been established by companies.

In the 39th annual statement of Rates Levied in Various Towns, issued by the Town Treasurer, Preston, in all but four of the many cases of municipal electrical undertakings, surpluses went to relieve the rates.

According to a calculation in "London Threatened by the Electrical Trust" (1924), for six of the largest municipal undertakings during the last recorded year, the average price per unit was 2.16d., as against 3.07d. for six of the largest company stations.

The dividend for thirteen London companies rose from an average of 6 per cent. in 1914 to an average of 12 per cent. in 1922. It is estimated that unified management, under public ownership, is capable of saving London alone  $\frac{1}{2}$  millions per annum, and the nation as a whole, £10 millions per annum. The *Electrical Times Supplement*, May 1st, 1924, in a summary of official returns, reveals that municipal electricity in London is far more efficient than private enterprise:—

WORKING COSTS PER UNIT SOLD.						
	Total	Wages of Workmen.	Repairs and Salaries,	Management, Office and Legal Expenses.	Rent, Rates,	Taxes.
Municipal Company	... ... ...	1.29 1.45 0.17	0.14 0.25 0.25	0.23 0.19 0.29	0.15 0.23	

The *Municipal Year Book* (1924) gives figures of 213 Municipal Electrical Undertakings; only in seven cases was there a deficit, and that a slight one.

The Manchester Electrical Department operates three generating stations within the city. In 1923 it opened the first section of a super-power station at Barton, on the Ship Canal, whence current is transmitted at high tension to the City distributing stations.

In 1923-4 Manchester made a net profit (after paying interest and loan repayment charges) of £128,714, Liverpool £146,946 and Glasgow £88,673.

The Auditors' Annual Report of the City of Riverside, Calif., for 1922-3 shows that its municipal electrical plant made a profit of 44 cents out of every dollar of revenue received, and that Riverside has actually built its municipal electric plant out of profits. This plant gives free lamp renewals. In 1922-3 Riverside charged for lighting 7.12 cents a kilowatt hour as against 7.81 for the Southern Edison Company (1922) which supplied neighbouring territory. The average rate for all current sold by the Riverside municipal plant was 27 per cent. less than that charged by the Pacific Gas and Electric Company in San Francisco to the same class of consumers.

The Annual Report of the Electricity Commissioners for 1924 states that there are still 50 towns with a population of more than 10,000, which have no supplies. This report also says that a willingness to pool resources for the common good is essential to produce a cheaper supply and a general extension of public supplies.

In 1924-5, Liverpool transferred £50,000 to relieve the rates; Leeds, £30,000; St. Pancras, £25,000; Stepney, £28,000; Hammersmith, £15,000; Hackney, £14,000.

The 40th annual Statement of Rates Levied in Various Towns, 1924-5, issued by the Preston Treasurer, shows that 74 County Boroughs transferred a surplus of £380,904 on municipal electrical undertakings to relieve the rates. 65 Boroughs transferred £26,350; 31 Urban Districts transferred £36,147; and there was one deficiency of £1,375 transferred from the rates. 18 Metropolitan Boroughs transferred £102,859.  
**Gas.**

246 local authorities own gas undertakings—about one-third of the total number of authorised gas undertakings in Great Britain. In Scotland there are only four private companies.

Several municipalities are now beginning to reap the fruits of their wisdom in taking over their gas undertakings some time ago. Thus, BRADFORD municipalised its gas supply in 1871. It has finished paying for the cost of this, and the amount of £25,301, which went annually to pay Interest and Sinking Fund charges, is now a free surplus. Nelson, Keighley and Aberdeen have also practically covered their capital expenditure on gas undertakings.

GLASGOW in 1922-3 made a profit of £334,503.

The MANCHESTER city gas installation supplied an area of 48 square miles from four stations. Within recent years it has commenced a service of high-pressure gas supply. In 1921 Parliamentary powers were obtained for the erection of a large gas generating station at Partington, on the Manchester Ship Canal, the intention being ultimately to use the present producing stations in the city as distributing centres only.

The 40th annual statement of the Preston Treasurer shows that in 83 County Boroughs, 20 municipal gas undertakings transferred a surplus to relieve the rates, and there was only one deficiency. In 86 Boroughs there were nine surpluses for the rates and no deficiencies.

### Tramways.

There are 90 municipal tramway undertakings in Great Britain. Sixty-six of these showed a net surplus for 1923-4, according to the *Municipal Year Book*, 1924, of £2,936,119. Glasgow made a profit of £558,848 on its trams in 1922-3; Liverpool, £414,918; Manchester, £231,674. The Manchester Tramways Department holds a premier position amongst undertakings of its kind, for size, efficiency and cheapness. Operating 212 miles of single track, it carried last year 288 million passengers. It also owns a supplementary system of motor buses. £1½ millions were paid in relief of rates in 20 years. ("Manchester Guardian" Year Book, 1925.)

By March, 1924, £7,609,485 of the £16,588,862 cost of the L.C.C. trams had been cleared off. Accounts for the year ended March 31st, 1923, showed a surplus of £31,500, after carrying £198,751 to reserve and repayment of £712,143 for interest and capital charges.

The 40th annual statement of the Preston Treasurer shows that of 83 County Boroughs 20 municipal undertakings trans-

ferred a surplus to relieve the rates, against 12 cases of deficiencies.

In the 58 cases of municipal undertakings quoted in the list of 83 County Boroughs, 86 Boroughs, 48 Urban Districts and 28 Metropolitan Boroughs, there was a total surplus transferred to the rates of £279,952, against a total deficiency of £193,888, leaving a total net surplus of £86,064.

Where municipal trams compete with private motor omnibus companies they are at a great disadvantage; the competition is wasteful and the companies contribute nothing to the maintenance of the roadways. In London, particularly, the need for control of the London General Omnibus Company is urgent; the ratepayers suffer inconvenience and often pay high fares on account of this competition. In Croydon, particularly, is this felt.

### **Motor Omnibuses.**

About 50 local authorities have put services in operation, including most of the large provincial authorities. In Edinburgh, of a capital expenditure of £195,233, £89,967 has been repaid. At Birmingham no capital was raised, the cost of setting up the department was borne out of tramway profits; in 1922-3 there was a gross surplus of £24,407.

In Douglas and Stockport, the buses were paid for out of tramway revenue.

### **Markets.**

Municipal markets are profitable, as a rule, but their beneficial results are more in ensuring sound and clean food for the consumers and offering greater public convenience.

Though we are far behind our foreign neighbours in regard to abattoirs, steady and even rapid progress has been made and it is not difficult to realise that the private slaughter house is doomed to extinction before many years, at least in all the large towns. France led the way among civilised states in the provision of abattoirs and meat markets, and her example has been followed by Germany, Austria and Denmark. There is unanimous testimony from these and other countries, and from towns in the United Kingdom where public slaughter houses have been established, that the abattoir system has resulted in an improvement in the public health and a diminution of nuisance and cruelty. A large proportion of the private

slaughter houses, especially in the great towns, are altogether unsuited for the purpose for which they are used, they have an insufficient water supply, little ventilation and encourage the storage of animal and other offensive refuse.

It is impossible in many of the larger towns adequately to inspect and supervise the private establishments and thus to guard the public against the consumption of unsound or diseased meat. Although the object of the abattoir movement is not to make gains for the municipalities the result has been successful from the financial as well as from the sanitary point of view. The 40th annual statement of the Preston Treasurer shows that of 83 County Boroughs, in 56 cases municipal markets transferred a surplus to relieve the rates and there were only five deficiencies. Of 86 Boroughs there were 47 surpluses and one deficiency.

#### General Results.

The following summary figures (from the *Municipal Year Book, 1924*) show the general financial results of Municipal Trading in 1923-4.

#### MUNICIPAL TRADING.

			£	
Omnibuses	...	...	40,615	Surplus
Gas	...	...	1,688,129	do.
Tramways	...	...	2,934,473	do.
Electricity	...	...	3,273,282	do.
Markets	...	...	166,261	do.
<hr/>				
<i>Less Water Supply</i>				<i>gross</i>
	...	...	8,102,760	loss
<hr/>				
<i>£8,025,248 net surplus</i>				

"London News," November, 1924.

Further, the 40th Annual Statement of Rates Levied in Various Towns (issued by the Preston Treasurer) and covering 74 County Boroughs, 65 Boroughs, 32 Urban Districts, and 18 Metropolitan Boroughs, shows that the result of these Municipal Undertakings was :—

Total Deficiencies transferred from Rates	...	£1,022,363
Total Surplus transferred to Rates	...	£1,763,364
Total Balance transferred to the relief of Rates		£741,001

# SOCIALIST ANNUAL, 1925

County Boroughs.		Net amount in the £ by which the rates were decreased by Municipal Undertakings.	County Boroughs.		Net amount in the £ by which the rates were decreased by Municipal Undertakings.	
Barnsley	..	2½d.	Southport	..	1½d.	
Bath	..	2½d.	Stoke	..	1½d.	
Belfast	..	3½d.	Swansea	..	2½d.	
Birkenhead	..	9½d.	Wallasey	..	7½d.	
Birmingham	..	2½d.	Walsall	..	1s. 4½d.	
Blackburn	..	7½d.	Warrington	..	3½d.	
Blackpool	..	8½d.	West Bromwich	..	4½d.	
Bolton	..	3½d.	Wolverhampton	..	2½d.	
Bootle	..	3½d.	Worcester	..	1d.	
Bradford	..	6d.	Yarmouth	..	1s. 4½d.	
Brighton	..	3½d.	York	..	5½d.	
Burnley	..	1½d.	Average 4½d. in the £ for 57 Boroughs.			
Cardiff	..	4½d.	Accrington	..	5½d.	
Carlisle	..	3d.	Ashton-under-Lyne	..	1½d.	
Chester	..	7½d.	Cambridge	..	2½d.	
Coventry	..	5d.	Chelmsford	..	1½d.	
Darlington	..	4d.	Chesterfield	..	4½d.	
Dewsbury	..	1s. 0½d.	Chorley	..	11½d.	
Dudley	..	2½d.	Clitheroe	..	4d.	
Eastbourne	..	2d.	Dover	..	4½d.	
Exeter	..	1½d.	Doncaster	..	1s. 4½d.	
Grimsby	..	4½d.	Glossop	..	6½d.	
Huddersfield	..	2d.	Gravesend	..	6d.	
Hull	..	6½d.	Hyde	..	1½d.	
Ipswich	..	5½d.	Kendal	..	3½d.	
Leeds	..	9½d.	Kidderminster	..	4d.	
Leicester	..	9½d.	Kingston-on-Thames	..	3½d.	
Lincoln	..	9d.	Leicester	..	2½d.	
Liverpool	..	7½d.	Lytham & St. Anne's	..	1d.	
Manchester	..	8½d.	Loughborough	..	3½d.	
Newcastle	..	4½d.	Macclesfield	..	2d.	
Northampton	..	3½d.	Mansfield	..	1½d.	
Nottingham	..	1s. 0½d.	Mossley	..	1½d.	
Oldham	..	3½d.	Newark	..	2½d.	
Oxford	..	8½d.	Nuneaton	..	1½d.	
Plymouth	..	2½d.	Peterborough	..	2½d.	
Portsmouth	..	1½d.	Salisbury	..	2d.	
Reading	..	5½d.	Scarborough	..	1½d.	
Rochdale	..	2½d.	Shrewsbury	..	4½d.	
Rotherham	..	3½d.	Stafford	..	1½d.	
St. Helens	..	1½d.	Swindon	..	2d.	
Salford	..	4½d.	Weymouth	..	7d.	
Sheffield	..	4d.	Whitehaven	..	7½d.	
Smethwick	..	1½d.	Widnes	..	5d.	
Southampton	..	5½d.	Worthing	..	1½d.	
Southend	..	2½d.	Average 4½d. for 33.			

*From the 40th Annual Statement of the Preston Treasurer (1924-1925).*

## WHAT THE MUNICIPALITIES ARE DOING.

**The London County Council** is the chief authority for the local Government of London, the capital of the British Empire, and it has therefore, responsibilities in respect of the health, education and general well-being of nearly 5,000,000 people. This is about the population of a country like Scotland, of a dominion like South Africa, or even of a whole continent like Australia.

In the exercise of its duties the London County Council maintains 370 miles of sewers, which deal each year with 100,000 million gallons of sewage. It has a fleet of six steamers, each of 1,000 tons, to deposit out at sea the 2,000,000 tons of sludge left over after the liquid part of the sewage has been drawn off.

### **Health and Housing.**

The Council has already cleared 40 acres of slums, and it is now clearing another 38 acres; it has erected 16,626 tenements, with accommodation for more than 100,000 persons, while 2,100 other tenements are in hand or are authorised. It co-ordinates the work of the local health authorities in London; it has organised a scheme for the treatment of tuberculosis, under which 4,819 persons received residential treatment, and one for the treatment of venereal diseases, which deals with an average of more than 21,000 new cases a year; it licenses 239 lodging houses, with accommodation for 20,300 persons; last year it licensed and registered 166 slaughter houses, 130 cow houses and 55 offensive businesses.

### **Tramways, Parks, Fire Brigades.**

It maintains the largest tramway undertaking in Great Britain; this is nearly 160 miles long, needs a staff of 15,000, and carries more than 700,000,000 passengers a year. The Council has spent nearly £12,000,000 (net) in widening about 40 miles of streets in all parts of London. It maintains the Victoria, Albert and Chelsea Embankments, as well as ten bridges over the Thames, four tunnels under it, and a free ferry at Woolwich.

It maintains 115 parks and open spaces in and near London, with an area of about eight square miles, and a staff of more than 1,000; it also maintains the Horniman Museum, Forest Hill, and the Geffrye Museum, Shoreditch.

It maintains the London Fire Brigade, with a uniformed staff of nearly 2,000, 66 stations and 87 motor fire engines, and also

the London Ambulance Service, with seven stations and twelve ambulances.

### **Public Control.**

It supervises the laying out of streets and the construction of buildings, and the safety of the public at 655 theatres, music halls, cinematograph halls and other places of entertainment. It registers or licenses more than 6,000 places where explosives, petroleum, etc., are kept, 800 employment agencies, and 720 massage or similar establishments. It enforces the provisions of the Shops Acts, verifies and inspects 2,500,000 weights and measures, and tests nearly all the gas used in London and the meters through which it is supplied.

It issues nearly 150,000 motor car licences and 120,000 driving licences, and collects on behalf of the Government nearly £2,000,000 as fees in respect thereof. It also issues about 200,000 establishment, dog, gun, game and carriage licences.

### **Mental Hospitals: Finance.**

Finally, it maintains ten mental hospitals, where nearly 18,000 patients live and are treated.

The Council's net annual income is now about £23,000,000, of which nearly £12,000,000 comes from the rates, over £7,000,000 from Government grants, and the balance from different sources, such as rents, fees, fines, etc. Its aggregate capital expenditure, including expenditure by its predecessors, the Metropolitan Board of Works and the School Board for London has been nearly £103,000,000, of which about £55,700,000 has been paid off or otherwise provided for, leaving a balance of net debt amounting to approximately £47,300,000.

**Birkenhead** owns a steam ferry service. It owns 12 steamers for passengers and goods traffic. In 1924-5 a profit of £10,240 was made on the Ferries, and £693 on Stables. Rates decreased by (net) 9½d. in £.

### **Nottingham.—1924-5.—Relief of rates.**

Markets	...	...	...	£5,258
Gas	...	...	...	24,324
Electricity	...	...	...	20,270
Trams and Buses			...	12,161
Estates	...	...	...	15,860
<hr/>				
Total	...	...	...	£77,873

There were no deficiencies. Rates decreased 1s. o½d. in £.

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**Chelmsford.**—1924-5, £200 went to relieve rates on account of tar-macadam mixing.

**Scarborough.**—1924-5, relief was granted to Rates from Entertainments £3,444, Cafés £2,775.

**Stafford.**—Rates reduced by 11d. in the £. Surplus, £5,682. Twenty-eight Metropolitan Boroughs—in respect of municipal undertakings showed a total surplus to relieve the rates of £121,045 against deficiencies transferred from rates of £110,040—thus there was a net surplus to benefit the rates of £11,005.

**Glasgow** has municipalised all services of public necessity except the cemeteries. The Clyde Navigation is under the control of a public trust, on which the Corporation is largely represented; it maintains several ferries. About 23,000 people are employed in the various departments of the City government, which costs more than £4 millions per annum to administer, while the Corporation is owner of net free assets worth more than £13 millions. It has built a People's Palace in the East End. Liberal provision has been made for the out-door recreation of the people; 58 bowling greens and five golf courses have been made. It owns the Estate of Ardgoil of 14,740 acres, at the junction of Loch Goil and Loch Long, 40 miles from Glasgow. In addition to markets it owns the approved landing-place, the Imported Animals' Wharf and slaughter houses. It has laundries attached to 17 of the 19 bathing establishments. The Cleansing Department is managed entirely by the municipality, which owns 716 railway wagons, and sells its useful products to farmers in half the counties of Scotland. It rents the farm of Hallbrae—38 acres. The Department has transformed useless bogland into good arable land; it has its own railways on its estates; it owns workshops, and has in use 330 horses, and 40 motor vehicles. The manure produced by the sifting and mixing machines brings a considerable revenue, and is also utilised in fertilising the Department's farms.

**Manchester.** Over a century ago Manchester was an unincorporated borough governed by a Court Leet, nominated by the Steward of the Lord of the Manor. Dr. Howkins reported to the Factory Commission:—

“It is impossible not to notice the total absence of public gardens, parks, and walks at Manchester. It is scarcely in the power of the workman to taste the breath of nature or to look upon its verdure.”

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A whole street of houses followed the course of a ditch which saved the cost of digging cellars. Children worked in the mines fourteen hours a day. . . .

In 1870 the era of communal service, "municipal Socialism" began. . . .

In the early 'eighties Manchester had the highest death-rate in England. Every year one in 28 of the population died—half the children of workfolk died before the age of five. To-day the death-rate is 14.3 (1922) per 1,000, the birth-rate 21.2. This death-rate has been reduced roughly from 40 to 14.

To-day Manchester has 70 parks! It has now over 20,000 public gas lamps, over 1,000 miles of mains, and a daily consumption of 29 million cubic feet (in winter).

The municipality has obtained water from Lake Thirlmere, Longdendale Valley (Pennines), and in 1919 powers were obtained in regard to Hawes Water. It supplies a population of 1,400,000 in its area. It owns a Golf Course of 138 acres, and five municipal cemeteries. It possesses the splendid Free Trade Hall, accommodating 3,236 persons. The Corporation is the owner in Manchester of manorial and market rights by purchase in 1844. At present there are 12 markets, four abattoirs, two cold stores, an exhibition hall, and a foreign animals' wharf on the Ship Canal, where sea-borne animals are landed upon arrival, the total property in all covering 27 acres.

The Corporation advanced £5 millions to the Ship Canal, and selects 11 members of the Board of Directors, against 10 by the shareholders. This gigantic undertaking, 35½ miles long, has made Manchester the fourth port in volume of traffic in the United Kingdom. Since 1911 a vast scheme of main drainage has been undertaken, whereby the whole of the city's sewerage system will drain out to the large sewage works at Davyhulme, where the latest methods of bacteriological treatment are in operation, and from whence, the ultimate residuum is carried by tank steamer down the Ship Canal and out to sea, to be dumped one mile beyond the Bar Lightship in Liverpool Bay.

"The cessation of municipal activities" would mean that dirt, darkness, disease and lawlessness would turn Manchester into a "Horrible Night" (the "Manchester Guardian" Year Book 1925). This is what a Liberal organ thinks of "Municipal Socialism."

Real Socialism has never been tried—this will only come when each locality has, because it is ready to enjoy, the responsibility

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of governing itself and supplying its own needs in so far as they can be met locally; but all progress has been achieved by the application of Socialist principles—namely, public provision for citizens' needs.

The receipts from manure sold amounted to £9,988 last year, and the receipts from the sale of clinkers, tins, galvanised and light iron, waste paper, etc. were £4,459. A system of hose-washing the streets has been introduced, and in addition no less than 23 million gallons of water are now used for watering the streets.

From Barton Power Station an area of 43 square miles is supplied. Consumers number over 28,000; Income—about £1,400,000.

**Birmingham** has now, after London and Glasgow, the largest population of any city in the Kingdom. It did much for the renaissance of municipal enterprise during the latter half of the nineteenth century. During Mr. Joseph Chamberlain's Mayoralty (1874-6) it municipalised the water and gas supplies. In 1904 the Welsh water supply was inaugurated. Provision is made for future extension, so far over six million pounds have been spent. The aqueduct to Birmingham is 74 miles long. The City Council has extended its control over almost every department of municipal life. It owns 29 parks, 250 gardens and recreation grounds, manages markets and slaughter houses, a museum, an art gallery, industrial school, etc.

In 1876 it acquired an overcrowded and unhealthy area in the centre of the town, 45 acres, with about 1,368 houses. The centre of this city has been entirely transformed. It had to provide funds by a special rate, but a valuable asset has been obtained. The Capital expenditure under the scheme, to 3<sup>rd</sup> March, 1923, was £1,732,383, the present value of this municipal estate is at least three million pounds. It has adopted comprehensive schemes of road widening under which all the main roads of the city will ultimately be 120 feet wide.

House refuse is either cremated or used in the reclamation of waste lands, while a considerable quantity is also converted into manures. Extensive by-products plant has been installed and the reclamation of waste material is also converted into manure.

The Corporation has established the first municipal bank in the country. This bank combines the functions of a Savings Bank and a Housing Department, whereby advances can

be made to depositors to purchase their houses. At the end of the financial year, 31st March, 1923, there were 100,245 depositors in the Bank, and the amount standing to the credit of depositors represented £2,883,942. During the year £1,950,916 was deposited; £1,010,165 was repaid to depositors, and the total number of transactions during the year amounted to 577,717. In the House Purchase Department the total number of mortgages effected since the Bank was established is 1,543, and the amount advanced represents £433,248.

The Council makes an allowance to the Lord Mayor of £2,000 per annum, plus motor car, offices, and staff. In 1924-5, the following surpluses went to relieve the rates, £26,302—markets; £42,000—gas; £31,000—electricity; £27,000—trams and buses; total transferred—£126,302.

**Bradford** is a city of which the country is proud. All the chief common services are held by the Corporation for the good of the people. In addition to water, gas and electric supplies, and tramways, markets, slaughter-houses, baths, the sterilised milk dépôt, and cemeteries are all municipalised. A fine town hall cost £282,000. Intellectual development is provided for in 29 libraries and travelling libraries, an art gallery, museum, 10 parks and 19 recreation grounds; total area of 1,220 acres.

The Corporation has acquired a fine expanse of breezy moorland, 770 acres, Baildon Moor, near the City. The Corporation pays £5,000 for the lease of the manorial market rights; 1924-5—a surplus of £3,300 went to relieve the rates. It owns seven sets of baths, including Turkish, douche and vapour baths for both sexes, and special medicated baths.

It owns the Conditioning House for the staple industry, fitted up with the best machinery for testing textile materials, both raw and manufactured. The Corporation has opened a light railway in the Nidd Valley, and in 1911 it started a system of railless electric tramways.

Refuse is removed by workmen in the direct employ of the Corporation by destructors. A plant for manufacturing paving slabs from the clinkers produced by furnaces, has been laid down. A considerable quantity of valuable concentrated fish manure is made at the dépôt from fish refuse. An estate of 1,700 acres has been purchased for sewage disposal purposes.

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1924-5 (6d. in £)—£54,000 went to relieve Rates. There were no deficiencies. £1,100—Conditioning House. £23,600—Electricity. £13,000—Gas. £13,000—Trams. £3,300—Markets.

The problem of housing is acute. In 1921, 449 houses; in 1922, 460, were built by the Municipality. Direct labour houses cost, on an average, £929 as against £987 for Contractors, and then an amount of £33 per house has to be allowed for the guaranteed week to the Corporation workers.

**Margate's** enlightened Corporation and Officials have created a great part of the popularity which it enjoys as a seaside resort for Londoners. It has laid out magnificent promenades and esplanades along practically the whole sea-front, and has provided commodious concert pavilions and winter gardens. En-tout-cas tennis courts have been laid down on two of the promenades.

The "Star" on January 28th, 1925, reveals that the London visitors in 1924 paid for entertainments to the Margate Corporation £50,800 despite the wet weather. The gross income from concerts amounted to £30,000. Last year the town's share of these concerts was £5,700. The Government collected £4,000 in entertainment tax. The Corporation has re-engaged Mr. Murray Ashford and Mr. Fred Willdon for 1925 on a percentage basis. £7,000 was received from bathing, £9,000 from the letting of chairs, about £2,800 as rentals for the stalls on the fore-shore for the sale of sweets, ices, fruit, etc., £2,000 from tennis and other games. In connection with the letting of chairs it is interesting to note that in 1898 Mr. Shanley paid £50 for the privilege, and £100 the following year. In 1900 he offered to increase it to £200, but the Band Committee took over the rights and made a profit of £2,000. Against the above gross figures must be set capital charges and working expenses for the year. Between 1907 and 1923 by this municipal trading the Conservative Corporation of Margate has been able to allocate £46,415 for the reduction of the rates, and to spend £15,118 on capital expenditure. In addition there is stock valued at £10,000, thus showing a total net profit of £71,000 derived from municipal enterprise. It is certain that the completed 1924 figures will show a further surplus to add to this.

**Derby (Direct Labour).** July, 1919. Contractors undertook to build 430 houses at £787 16s. each on an average—they actually cost the Council £1,100 each.

After Labour agitation a Municipal Building Committee was set up to compete with the contractor in building houses.

March, 1922.—Contractors brought down to £424 for each house in one case, while houses were being built on the other side of the road for £715.

July, 1923.—Municipal Building Committee secured a contract for 40 houses for £14,800 as against the lowest contractors' price of £19,950. Direct Labour has therefore been a considerable saving for the Corporation.

**Dundee** has splendidly appointed Turkish and Russian baths, with up-to-date accessories in the way of sprays and douches, a room especially set apart for massage and shampooing, a salt-water plunge-bath, etc.

**Belfast.** In 1895 the Corporation bought the Botanic Gardens for £10,500.

**Dublin.** The main drainage system includes a large pumping station at Ringsend and sewage disposal works at the Pigeon House, where an average dry weather flow of 17½ million gallons per day is dealt with, the sludge being conveyed to the sea in a vessel belonging to the Corporation.

**Lincoln** owns all its public services, cattle and butter markets, cold stores, etc.

**Sheffield** provides music in the parks in the summer.

**York** owns two bonded warehouses (for wet and dry goods), the Fosse Canal, and three steam-tugs, plying between Hull and York. 1924-5, Bonded Warehouses transferred to Rates £254. Total transferred £9,107—rates decreased 5½d.

**Doncaster.** Race Course—surplus to Rates £10,000. Estates and Race Stands (£5,000), £9,337. Markets £3,920. Rates decreased 1s. 4½d.

**Newcastle-on-Tyne** owns corporate property to the value of six million pounds including valuable coal royalties and quays.

**Plymouth** owns the Royal Hotel and a theatre.

**Preston** last year spent over one-and-a-half million pounds in acquiring and improving docks, quays, etc.

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**Liverpool** supplies an area of 118 square miles with water; it has introduced a supply from Vrynwyr Valley, Montgomery. "Like all go-ahead cities it enjoys a full municipal life" (Municipal Year Book, 1924). In 1924-5, £84,860 was transferred to Rates from Estates, and £36,612 from Markets—Rates decreased 7½d. in £.

**Llanelli** owns a floating dock.

**Hull.** The property belonging to the Corporation is worth considerably more than the rateable value of the whole city. It now owns its telephone system, whose tariff is the lowest in the United Kingdom, and which is a striking financial success.

**Brighton** has constructed a magnificent sea-frontage of four miles. The Corporation owns the Royal Pavilion—which is used for entertainments, etc.; the Race Course, which is leased, and run by a Committee, all of whom must be members of the Council, the profits going to the Corporation; the Aquarium.

**Bristol** owns extensive Dock undertakings, managed by a Committee of eleven members of the Corporation. It is a large land owner, receiving rents of £38,000 per annum. In 1919 it acquired Colston Hall, which seats 4,000, for £66,000. It charges an economic rental to promoters of various functions—the revenue allows for Interest and debt capital charges—only one farthing in the pound comes from Rates.

**Colchester** owns its Harbour and the Colne Oyster Fishery—the latter gave £2,355 to Rates.

**Huddersfield** in 1920 acquired the Ramsden Estate, which includes most of the land in the centre of the town to an extent of 4,300 acres.

**Leeds** owns a golf-course (18 hole and 9 hole) and four cemeteries. It owns a herd of cattle in the park, and produces milk for the City Hospitals. In the 1924 Session powers were obtained to carry on Municipal Farming. In 1924-5, Markets £14,355; Electricity £30,000; Trams £65,000; Total surplus £109,355. Rates decreased 9½d. in £.

**Leicester** Corporation controls practically every branch of the public service, including a fine sewage farm.

**Bermondsey** has erected stables, workshops, fly-making plant, etc., including two river-side wharves.

**Poplar.** Last year the Borough Council, by direct employment of labour, carried out, in addition to general work, paving and special works, at a cost of £38,710, for the relief of unemployment.

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**Woolwich** owns municipal markets at Woolwich, Plumstead and Eltham, yielding a profit of about £670 per annum.

**Blackpool.** 1924-5, £33,000 transferred to Rates—net decrease 8½d. in £.

**Dewsbury.** Rates decreased 1s. 0½d. net in £.—£17,500 transferred.

**Yarmouth.** £16,934 transferred to Rates—decreased 1s. 4½d. in £.

### MUNICIPAL MILK.

It may not yet be possible to do much with regard to the municipal control of the people's food supply generally, but in one direction some progress has been made. Absurd and wasteful competition still characterises the distribution of bread and milk, apart from the operations of the Co-operative Movement, and the problem of securing a clean milk supply is still acute, despite the Milk and Dairies Act of 1922; but one or two enlightened authorities have taken steps to remove these evils.

**Haverfordwest** still runs a health milk business; in July, 1924, its charges compared favourably with those of neighbouring retailers. In 1922 a Sub-Committee of the Dolgelly U.D.C. arranged to carry on the municipal milk dépôt established during the War. The dépôt has now been closed, but it charged 6d. per quart against wholesalers' 7d. In 1920-1, the Government dropped a Bill which was introduced to empower municipalities to take over milk distribution.

**Sheffield** is the only local authority, as yet, which possesses wide powers in regard to milk. It has Parliamentary powers to buy and sell milk and dairy produce, establish dairies, milk dépôts, milk shops and farms, although it has no monopoly. Arising out of a war emergency the City Corporation allowed the Food Control Committee to acquire two wholesale businesses and distribute milk to the trade through them, and direct to the public by carriers or roundsmen and milk shops whose number was increased. After the War the Council took over the business under an Act of Parliament. The milk was brought into Sheffield by train or motor and the Corporation installed a plant in one of the dépôts at a cost of about £5,000. 2,000 gallons were distributed to the public daily. The supply of good quality milk was improved. From November, 1918, to April, 30th, 1920, the loss on the city's milk trading amounted to £7,151, excluding any allowance for goodwill, but the cost of

motor transport involved in long distance delivery, with a charge allowed in this respect of only 1d. per gallon, mainly caused this. After May 1st, 1920, a surplus began to be shown. However, the concern was closed down.

Manchester City Corporation appointed a sub-committee to discuss milk municipalisation. In 1920 the Public Health Committee recommended that the Corporation should acquire by Private Act the distribution rights possessed by the private dealer and enforce a monopoly in the city. It was estimated that £461,000 would be paid as compensation. Monopoly was recognised as essential and it was stated that a public authority would effect economies and improvement, such as would not be obtained through a private monopoly. Unfortunately the scheme was dropped.

The Manchester Co-operative Societies considered that under normal conditions 3d. per gallon could be taken off the cost of distribution. Even admitting that the saving might be less than this, it was estimated (*Manchester Guardian*, 25th April, 1923) that the annual surplus on a municipal scheme of distribution would have been £100,375, enough to pay several times over the interest at 5½ per cent. on the £461,000 compensation. The chairman of the Manchester Public Health Committee, the Lord Mayor, said that the competition of small dealers did not benefit the consumer as the above committee proved. A scheme drawn up by the Manchester Labour Party is outlined in the *Manchester Guardian*, 25/3/24.

Dr. May Atkinson at a Manchester Conference, attended by local I.L.P. branch representatives, 13/4/24, advocated a demand for speedy compulsory powers to test frequently the sources of milk supply to prevent infection, and control all along the line.

In Manchester under the present system five milkmen supply a street of 20 houses. As Socialists point out, a street's letters are not delivered by five postmen.

In the *Bradford Pioneer*, December 13th, 1918, the Executive Officer of the Local Food Control Committee states that in the district abnormal supplies have been available for consumers, while close by there has been no supply at all. He states that the milk retailers have been unable or unwilling to supply according to needs, and advocates that the committee should obtain powers of control. Though no large scheme was adopted, there is in Bradford a small municipal milk concern,

a kind of adjunct to the Child Welfare Scheme, providing milk for the infants' clinic and the hospitals. Also in connection with it there is a special, up-to-date plant for cooling milk and a milk laboratory, where milk used for the infants' clinic is made up into certain quantities to contain those particular properties, proteids, fats, etc., prescribed by the medical section as necessary. There is also a cheese and butter-making plant to avoid waste in producing things for local hospitals and sanatoria. The Mental Deficiency Committee has purchased a farm, on which is employed mentally deficient labour, to render such productive.

### **Wellington, New Zealand.**

Following on legislation in 1910, War Regulations, the committee's decision in 1918 to establish a municipal milk department as a trading concern, to lease a farm, and arrangements come to with the milk-vendors in January, 1919, whereby the Council purchased milk from farmers and sold the right of distribution, under a blocking system, for three years, in 1919 the Wellington City Milk Supply Act granted a monopoly of sale and distribution with power to grant leases to persons to sell milk. Previous contracts were extended till 1922. In 1922, the bottle-system was adopted. Tenders were asked for from existing vendors; none were forthcoming, so the Council simply took over the distribution. Householders exchange tokens, obtained from agencies, for milk at their doors. There is a trade of 3,000-4,000 gallons per day.

## **PUBLIC HEALTH.**

### **Dust and Refuse Destruction and Sewage Disposal.**

All enlightened local authorities now make ample provision not only for efficient cleansing in their locality, but also for utilising refuse, etc. For example, Bradford Corporation Cleansing Department converts the city's refuse into bone meal, fish meal, etc. In London, despite the fact that many of their neighbours deliberately waste 1,200,000 tons of refuse, Southwark and St. Marylebone utilise theirs most economically. 80 per cent. of the London refuse is thrown away. About 44 per cent. is taken down the Thames in barges and dumped in the sea or on mud flats, 16½ per cent. is taken by rail to distant dump heaps, and 20 per cent. is delivered to local dumps. Only

about 280,000 tons (16.6 per cent.) per annum is burnt in destructors and the total average cost of the disposal of 1½ million tons is 8s. per ton—which equals £600,000 per annum. A huge amount of this could be sold for steam generation in electricity stations, on the lines of Coventry's example.

At Eccles, 1923-4, a total profit of £2,781 was made for the municipality by dealing with refuse by a salvage plant, instead of destructors.

At Sheffield, Birmingham, Newark and Westminster successful work has been accomplished by means of bye-product plant, etc.

### **Sewage Disposal.**

One of the most important sanitary duties which local authorities are called upon to provide for is the disposal of sewage from domestic dwellings, public buildings and manufactories. Since 1857, nine Government Commissions have inquired into and reported on this subject, to guide communities in (1) utilising sewage beneficially and profitably in the interests of public health and agriculture (2) preventing pollution of rivers and streams and (3) establishing evidence necessary for forming proper sanitary legislation.

Since the 1915 Commission's Report, the activated sludge process of treating sewage has largely come into use.

In the provision of public baths, wash-houses and hospitals; in protecting the provision of food; in supplying treatment for tuberculosis, venereal and other infectious diseases, in taking action regarding smoke abatement, in all kinds of welfare work, local authorities are applying the fundamental principles of Socialism.

The experience of successful municipal enterprise in this, as well as in other countries, provides a strong argument for the application of the same principle to the larger concerns of the nation, in the socialisation of industry. Favourable comparisons of municipal undertakings with private enterprise in regard to price, quality and administrative efficiency, show that many of the criticisms of our opponents are unwarranted. Even although profit making is not the main concern of a municipal undertaking it has been proved that, when due allowance has been made on proper business lines, for its upkeep and for the consumers' fundamental need of cheapness, not only are surpluses often obtained to benefit the ratepayers,

but actually working costs are less than in similar private concerns. Mr. Warren, in an analysis of figures in the *Electrical Times*, 1911-12, shows that in comparison with private companies the costs of municipal electrical undertakings were 10-16 per cent. lower in the provinces and 30-50 per cent. lower in London.

As national progress is made towards public ownership and control of industry, and with the demonstrated need for decentralisation in administration, more and more the local authorities, singly or in combination—in many cases to-day joint action is undertaken for various purposes—will assist in linking up the consumer with the producer.

In the future it may even be hoped that part of the qualification necessary for an efficient Parliamentary candidate will be experience in local administration.

### **Municipal Electricity.**

It is the duty of the municipality, as far as possible, to ensure the right of every citizen to the use of electricity or any other of the public services, and that can best be done when these services are in its own hands.

Although profits have been made by municipal undertakings and surpluses have gone to relieve the rates, the first concern of such an undertaking should be the reduction of charges and the extension of the uses of electricity.

Where competition has been offered by a private supply undertaking it has scarcely been strong enough to break down the position of the municipality.

### **Developments of Municipal Power Sales.**

	... Glasgow Birmingham Manchester	Units sold for all purposes	
		1904 4 29	1923-4 171 222
Glasgow	... 15 million	15 million	166 million
Birmingham	... ,,	4	171
Manchester	... ,,	29	222

In 20 years the sales of power in these undertakings increased by 1,100 per cent.. The same is true of smaller undertakings which can generate and sell power as cheaply as the large undertaking.

### **Warrington.**

1923-4. Profit recorded on electricity undertaking £16,019; net profit £10,753. This was remarkable, as expenditure was £14,267 higher than for the previous year, and income

from the sale of electricity was only £3,400 more, although three million more units had been sold. The price received equalled 1.53d. per unit, as against 1.85d. for the previous year. The Committee wisely decided to continue to wipe out debts eight or ten years before they were due. In proposing to take out of the £10,753 a further £8,060 it would mean a great saving on interest and sinking fund and enable a still further reduction in the price of electricity.

### **Hackney.** (See *Electrical Times*, 10th July, 1924.)

#### HOUSE REFUSE COLLECTION AT HACKNEY.

Previous to 1894 no systematic house to house collection was in operation in Hackney; the practice was for the men in charge of the vehicles to pass along the thoroughfares calling out "Dust." People had to be fortunate enough to hear the call to have the refuse removed.

Recently the Borough was re-organised for collection purposes; it is divided into ten districts, with electric vehicles working in pairs. Whenever dustmen cannot gain admission they leave a card.

The destructor was opened in 1902, but results were not satisfactory. In 1921 the Council, following on a report by the Borough Engineer and Surveyor, purchased four electric vehicles with six tipping bodies. The result of 18 months' working was the preparation of a complete scheme for refuse collection by electrics, including the erection of a large garage, with charging and other facilities and the mechanical handling of the refuse from the vehicles to the furnace front on a novel system.

The estimate of the entire cost of the scheme amounts to £48,000, obtained by way of loan for periods varying from five to thirty years.

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LOCAL GOVERNMENT JOURNAL. Weekly, Sat., 2d. 7, Chichester House, Chancery Lane, W.C.2.  
LOCAL GOVERNMENT CHRONICLE (mainly legal). Weekly, Sat., 3d. (Charles Knight & Co., 227-239, Tooley Street, S.E.)  
MUNICIPAL JOURNAL. Weekly, Sat., 3d. (Sardinia House, Sardinia Street, W.C.2.)  
MUNICIPAL YEAR BOOK, 1924.  
40TH ANNUAL STATEMENT OF RATES LEVIED IN VARIOUS TOWNS, 1924-25, issued by Borough Treasurer, Preston. (R. Seed and Sons, 43, Guildhall Street, Preston.)  
LOCAL GOVERNMENT HANDBOOK, 1924. (Labour Publishing Department, 33, Eccleston Square, S.W.1. 3/-.)

## List of Societies.

- NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICERS : L. Hill, Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W.1.  
NATIONAL UNION OF CORPORATION WORKERS : A. Taylor, 138, First Avenue, Manor Park, E.12.  
NATIONAL UNION OF WATERWORKS EMPLOYEES : A. Harewood, 10, Tatam Road, Stonebridge Park, Willesden, N.W.10.  
LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL STAFF ASSOCIATION : W. G. Willmot, New County Hall, S.E.1.  
NATIONAL ASYLUM WORKERS' UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND : G. Gibson, 1, Rushford Avenue, Levenshulme, Manchester.  
WOMEN SANITARY INSPECTORS' AND HEALTH VISITORS' ASSOCIATION : Miss H. M. Gray, 92, Victoria Street (Top Floor), S.W.1.  
SOCIETY OF MEDICAL OFFICERS OF HEALTH : G. J. Elliston, M.A., 1, Upper Montague Street, Russell Square, W.C.1.  
FIREMEN'S TRADE UNION : J. J. W. Bradley, 89, Tabernacle Street, E.C.2.  
ASSOCIATION OF MANAGERS OF SEWAGE DISPOSAL WORKS : J. B. Croll, Main Drainage Works, West Hall Road, Kew Gardens, Surrey.  
NATIONAL UNION OF MUNICIPAL AND GENERAL WORKERS : Will Thorne, M.P., 28, Tavistock Square, W.C.1.  
ASSOCIATION OF MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS : Harry G. Pritchard, Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, S.W.1.  
BRITISH WATERWORKS ASSOCIATION : 173, Roseberry Avenue, E.C.1.  
MUNICIPAL TRAMWAYS ASSOCIATION : J. Beckett, 5 & 6, Clement's Inn, W.C.2.  
MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES' ASSOCIATION : 24, Fitzjohn Avenue, Hampstead, N.W.3.  
WOMEN'S LOCAL GOVERNMENT SOCIETY : Miss Berry, 19, Tothill Street, S.W.1.

# FOOD PRICES AND THE MIDDLEMAN

Points from the Linlithgow Committee.

*The Linlithgow Committee on the Distribution and Prices of Agricultural Produce* was set up in December, 1922, under the Chairmanship of Lord Linlithgow, then Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Agriculture. It issued interim reports on Milk and Milk products; on Fruit and Vegetable; on Meat, Poultry and Eggs; on Cereals, Flour and Bread; and a final report summarising its conclusions. All these reports, bound in one volume, can now be obtained for 3/6 from H.M. Stationery Office. They are packed with information invaluable to all propagandists.

## I. Milk.

The portion of the retail price which goes to the distributor was found to be frequently greater than that which went to the producer. This is illustrated by the position in London this winter :

	Jan. (1913).	Winter (1924).	Increase s. d.      s. d.      %
Price to Producer per gallon ...	0 10 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	80.5
Price to Consumer per gallon	1 4	2 6	87.5
Margin (i.e., Combines, Costs and Profits) ...	0 5 $\frac{3}{4}$	1 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	117.4

The report states that :—

"The nominal wholesale margin of 4d. a gallon in London and 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in Glasgow and similar margins where they exist elsewhere are too great a charge on the trade in return for purely pivotal and regulatory services and should be reduced. The margins as between wholesaler and retailer may not, in all cases, be realised in full by the wholesaler, but the consumer in most cases appears to derive no benefit from reductions that may be made as a trade convenience in favour of other distributors."

One of the causes of expensive distribution in most towns is the excessive number of retail milk-shops and the over-lapping of delivery services, which causes perhaps half-a-dozen competing firms to be engaged in delivering milk to the same street. In Birmingham there are 45 shops per 10,000 of the population, in Leicester 35, and in Salford 31. In London the position is rather different owing to the fact that a large combine, the United Dairies Limited, does about one-third of the total retail

trade. This saves waste by overlapping to some extent, but the saving benefits the combine and not the consumer.

"The United Dairies," says the report, "could retail milk at a lower price than at present, but the effect would be to exterminate the small retailer dealing only in milk, who lives on the verge of the profit margin." The combine does not do this because its present share of the trade gives it very satisfactory profits; and also because as the report explains:—"It has long been customary for large business amalgamations to seek to preserve in their own interests the small traders whose operative costs are necessarily heavy in relation to the volume of his business. He ensures for the big combinations both "cover from view" and "cover from fire," (i.e., of public opinion). It is true that he is usually left the least remunerative portion of the trade, and that his continued existence seems to be satisfying to public opinion, but to imagine that he is effective as a competitive agent is fallacious."

#### RAILWAY CHARGES AND FACILITIES.

The average Railway charge including the return of churns is 1½d. per gallon of milk, a rate about 50 per cent. above the pre-war level. The Linlithgow Committee did not consider this excessive, but urged that the service given by the railways should be improved. For instance, milk consigned in bottles is charged twice the rate for that in churns. This is to some extent justifiable as bottles require more careful handling, while the weight per gallon of milk consigned in this way is greater. But there is also evidence that the railways charge more because bottled milk is sold at a higher price. "The practice of bottling milk at farms and dairies," states the report, "is gradually increasing. If in the judgment of those who are conversant with the hygienic aspect of milk distribution the practice should be encouraged, we can conceive of no more effective means than by a favourable and considerable scale of rail charges."

On the subject of transport generally, the Committee state that "We have been impressed by the evidence we have received as to the initiative and enlightenment which the railway authorities in the United States and other countries have shown in the handling of the milk traffic. In our view, transport facilities in this country have not kept pace with the modern developments and requirements of the industry."

## II. Fruit and Vegetables.

Though the consumer has to pay extremely high prices for fruit and vegetables, the producer in many cases is unable to make a living. How is this? The principal factors as shown in the Linlithgow Report are as follow :—

- (a) *High Railway Rates.* The report states that "Railway freight is the heaviest individual charge borne by produce from the main producing areas before it reaches the wholesale market. During the past season cases occurred in which railway charges absorbed the whole of the selling price of the produce and even exceeded it. Cornish broccoli-growers paid in carriage about one-half of the gross price realised for their produce, and Lincolnshire potato growers about one-third." Railway rates were (1923) some 50 per cent. above pre-war level, but the opinion of the Committee was that they would have to be much further reduced if the fruit and vegetable industry in many districts was to continue. Quicker transit and better facilities generally were essential.
- (b) *Too Many Middlemen.* The fruit and vegetable trade is particularly remarkable for the number of middlemen who gain a living from it. There are sometimes six intermediaries, each taking a profit, between producer and consumer. In the first place a toll has to be paid to the owner of the market where the produce is sold. The chief of these is Covent Garden, through which not only nearly all produce consumed in London passes, but also a great deal of the supplies for the country as a whole. In view of this it is essential that the market should be efficiently run. The report states :—"Covent Garden is wholly inadequate to deal efficiently with the volume of produce handled. In no other market in the country is the accommodation so deficient and the congestion so acute.

"The market is owned privately by a company which has not set itself to make the necessary alterations. The circumstances of this market were investigated and reported on by a Special Departmental Committee as recently as 1921. It is impossible in the limited time available usefully to review the findings of that Com-

mittee, but it is imperative that steps should be taken to improve the existing conditions. Searching investigation should also be made into the magnitude and incidence of the existing market changes. They have formed a general basis of complaint and their legality is questioned."

Produce arriving at wholesale markets is sold by a Commission—salesman on behalf of the grower to whom he charges a commission, averaging about 10 per cent. of the selling price. It is bought by wholesalers, or in the case of goods for the provinces by commission buyers acting on behalf of wholesalers in other towns. Thence it goes to the retailer. The history of a consignment of tomatoes is given by the Committee and is worth reproduction:—

"40 dozen pounds of tomatoes from the Lea Valley delivered by contractor's lorry to commission salesmen in Covent Garden Market. Sold to a commission buyer acting on behalf of a merchant in Newcastle-on-Tyne.

	£ s. d.
40 dozen tomatoes, at 6s. per dozen ... ... ...	12 0 0
<i>Deductions from grower's account sale.</i>	
Use of empties ... ... ... ...	0 3 4
Cartage to market ... ... ... ...	0 6 8
Porterage ... ... ... ...	0 3 4
Market toll ... ... ... ...	0 1 8
Commission ... ... ... ...	1 4 0
	1 19 6
Net return to grower—5d. per lb. or ... ... ...	10 1 0
<i>Bought by commission buyer at 6s. dozen</i>	
<i>Charges.</i>	
Buyer's commission ... ... ... ...	0 6 8
Paper-covering baskets for railway, at 1½d. per basket ... ... ... ...	0 5 0
Portage, loading railway van ... ...	0 2 6
Cartage and carriage from Covent Garden Market to merchant's warehouse in Newcastle ... ... ... ...	2 7 7
Market expenses ... ... ... ...	0 3 4
Profit on re-sale to wholesaler in the country ... ...	2 0 0
Porterage, cartage and carriage ... ...	0 12 6
Profit on re-sale to retailers ... ...	2 0 0
	7 17 7
Sold to retailer at 10d. per lb.	
Sold to consumer at rs. 3d. per lb.	£19 17 7
Price received by grower, 5d. per lb.	

- (c) *Retailers' Profits.* The Committee gives an analysis of wholesale and retail prices in London on January 3rd, 1923, showing a gross profit to the retailer on various fruits and vegetables of from 100 per cent. to 344 per cent in West End shops and from 56 per cent. to 196 per cent. in middle-class suburban shops.

Private retailers seek to justify these figures by referring to large amount of wastage due to deterioration, losses in weighing, etc. According to their estimates these average 19½ per cent., but according to the estimates of the Co-operative Societies only 8½ per cent. As the Committee says:—"The figures submitted by private traders are either exaggerated, as we believe, or they indicate a very high percentage of waste in private businesses."

### III. Meat.

About 50 per cent. of the meat requirements of this country are supplied from home produce. In 1922 the sales of live stock off farms in Great Britain amounted in value to about 41 per cent. of the aggregate sales of farm produce. About 28.6 per cent. of the expenditure of an average family is on meat. And, as the Committee points out:—"In these circumstances it is essential from the standpoint of the home-producer, and in the interests of the consumer, that the marketing and distributive systems should be both cheap and efficient." But the history of the Sunday joint, from the farmer to the oven, again reveals a long line of middlemen.

About 80 per cent. of the home-grown meat is sold, on behalf of the farmers, by auction in the local markets. The Committee tells us that:—"There is evidence that butchers and dealers frequently form 'rings' at auction sales. This stifles competition and is detrimental to the producer, and to the trade in general."

The animals are slaughtered in abattoirs which in some towns are owned by the local authority. But there are approximately 20,000 private slaughter houses in Great Britain, of which the Committee says:—

"Many of the existing private slaughter houses are small, inefficient and insanitary. The case for their replacement by public abattoirs rests largely on the improvement in the finished article which results from the better hygienic and sanitary conditions prevailing in a well-managed and efficiently

regulated public slaughtering establishment and the saving in distributive costs due to the more effective utilisation of by-products. Urban authorities have power to provide public abattoirs, but the total number in the country is small. No public facilities exist, for example, in such large cities as Sunderland, Nottingham, Portsmouth and Hull. The public interest demands a considerable extension of the system of public abattoirs, the improvement of many of those already in existence, and, finally, that these facilities should be made available to users at the minimum cost."

Railway rates on meat are 50 per cent. above pre-war for goods train traffic and 60 per cent. on passenger train traffic. The railway companies differentiate against the British farmer by charging lower rates on imported meat.

Meat killed in the country, is handled in London by a commission salesman who charges about twice as much for his services as he did before the war. Between the commission salesman and the retailer stands the jobber, who buys whole carcases, cuts them up and re-sells them. Of the retailers the Committee says:—

"Information obtained from various sources shows that the retailers' net percentage profit has definitely increased in comparison with pre-war days, while the value of the commodities in which he deals has increased also. Both these factors react favourably on his net cash earnings. These are not only higher than before the war, as they would need to be to counteract the rise in the cost of living, but the relative improvement in the financial position of meat retailers generally, which witnesses engaged in the trade admit to have resulted from the control of prices, has been largely, if not entirely, maintained in the post-control period. In other words, meat traders as a class appear to have definitely improved their relative financial status in the community.

"Notwithstanding a slight increase in the number of retail meat shops throughout the country, active competition appears to be less than in pre-war days. It is a common complaint that butchers, having been encouraged to purchase collectively during the war period, still combine to purchase both stock and meat at favourable prices, and further that there is more agreement among retailers as to the prices to be charged and less inclination to undersell their competitors."

#### **IV. Wheat and Bread.**

About 80 per cent. of our wheat requirements have to be met from imports, and the price of British wheat is determined by that of foreign wheat. British wheat, however, nearly always fetches a lower price than imported, because it contains more moisture and is therefore not considered so suitable for flour making. The Committee comment on the experiments of Professor Biffen, who has succeeded in producing a new type of wheat, suitable to British conditions, but possessing the good qualities of imported wheat. Flour made from the Yeoman wheat is now being used in Buckinghamshire to produce an all-British loaf, which is as good as bread made from imported wheat, but which can be sold at 2d. per quartern less.

The Committee found no particular indication of profiteering or unfair methods on the part of wheat dealers. Milling costs, however, appear to them very high. The cause, they state, is partly due "to be the present excessive milling capacity of the country, which reduces the average running hours per mill below an economical limit. Hence overhead charges per unit output of flour are higher than would otherwise be necessary." The millers who gave evidence to the Committee insisted that they were making no profits, and, in most cases, losses, but the Co-operative Wholesale Society supplied details of the work in their mills, which show that profits were substantially larger in 1922 than in 1913. (C.W.S. profits are of course returned to members.) In view of this the statements of the millers either do not show the true position, or indicate a much lower standard of efficiency in private mills than in Co-operative mills.

In the retail trade the Committee were very dissatisfied with "the enormous differences between the cost of distribution as returned by local associations of bakers in what are clearly similar towns. The association at Bournemouth, for example, estimates distributive costs at 6/9 per sack of flour (42 loaves), and that of Poole at 6/6 per sack, as compared with estimates of 21/9 and 17/9 respectively at Worthing and Brighton. The difference between the costs of distribution at Bournemouth and Worthing amounts to nearly 2d. per 4lb. loaf."

The Committee also reported that the retailers' gross profit on household flour sold over the counter was 17½ per cent. They considered that a reduction in price of both flour and bread should be possible. This was of course in 1923, and since, instead of any reduction, the price of bread has gone bounding up under

pressure from a bad harvest in Canada in 1924, aggravated by wholesale speculations. The consumer is suffering, but there is no reason to believe that the profits of millers and bakers have been reduced.

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## WHO OWNS THE LAND ?

**T**HE area of the British Isles is approximately 77,000,000 acres. Figures given in "Who's Who" show that 256 Peers and Peeresses own approximately 8,480,000 acres, i.e. an average of 33,125 acres apiece.

That is, 256 persons (.0057 per cent. of the population) own an area equal to

Almost one-ninth of the whole United Kingdom, or  
More than one-quarter of the whole of England, or  
Nearly twice the whole of Wales, or  
More than two-fifths the area of Scotland.

### Some of the Biggest Landowners.

		Acres.
Duke of Sutherland	... approximate holding	1,000,000
Duke of Buccleuch	... , "	400,000
Duke of Richmond & Gordon	... , "	286,000
Duke of Atholl	... , "	202,000
Earl of Breadalbane	... , "	200,000
Duke of Devonshire	... , "	186,000
Duke of Portland	... , "	183,000
Lord Lovat	... , "	182,000
Earl of Lonsdale	... , "	175,000
Duke of Northumberland	... , "	169,000
Earl of Kenmare	... , "	140,000
Earl of Dalhousie	... , "	138,000
Marquis of Bute	... , "	117,000
Duke of Montrose	... , "	115,000

The Report of the Inland Revenue Commissioners for 1922-23 shows in another way that the vast proportion of the land on which we live is owned by a few rich men. In 1922-23, 363 men left in their wills more than £100,000. Included in them was land to the value of £14,682,000, or more than half the land left by the whole 560,000 odd people who died in that year.

# AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS

## Decline in Arable Farming.

### ENGLAND AND WALES.

This table shows the decline both in arable land and in arable land under corn crops. War-time measures brought about a partial recovery, but since the end of the war the decline has again set in and the arable acreage in 1924 was less than in 1914.

Years.		Total Arable Acreage.	Arable Land under Corn Crops.	
		1,000 Acres.	1,000 Acres.	
1879-83 (Av.)	...	13,988	...	7,429
1889-93 (Av.)	...	12,914	...	6,594
1899-1903 (Av.)	...	12,137	...	5,970
1909-1913 (Av.)	...	11,274	...	5,821
1914	...	10,998	...	5,759
1915	...	10,966	...	5,934
1916	...	11,051	...	5,731
1917	...	11,246	...	6,035
1918	...	12,399	...	7,481
1919	...	12,309	...	6,993
1920	...	12,020	...	6,449
1921	...	11,618	...	6,164
1922	...	11,311	...	6,163
1923	...	11,181	...	5,611
1924	...	10,929	...	5,503

## Employment in Agriculture, etc.

MALES OF 15 YEARS AND OVER (1,000's) EXCLUDING DOMESTIC GARDENERS).

This table shows how the decline in arable farming has decreased the rural population.

		1871.	1891. ooo's omitted.	1911.	1921
Farmers, Graziers	... ...	269.2	249.4	252.7	295.9
Farm Workers	... ...	1,028.2	885.9	832.1	734.6
Market Gardeners and Horti- culturists	... ...	54.2	98.0	147.5	127.0
Machine Attendants and others	...	4.4	7.5	19.2	38.4
Foresters	... ...	10.0	12.6	15.8	15.9
Total	... ...	<u>1,366.0</u>	<u>1,253.4</u>	<u>1,267.3</u>	<u>1,211.8</u>
Per cent. of 1871:					
On Farms	... ...	100	87.5	83.6	79.4
All	... ...	100	91.8	92.8	88.7

**Owner Occupiers.**

## ENGLAND AND WALES.

The following table shows the rapid increase that has taken place since the beginning of the war in the numbers of farmers owning their own land. It will be seen that over one-quarter of the total cultivated acreage is now owned by the men who farm it.

Year.	Total Crops and Grass.	Acreage Owned.	Percentage Owned.	Total No. of Holdings.	No. of Holdings owned or mainly owned.	Percent- age mainly owned.
1913	27,109,382	2,890,559	10.6	445,270	48,750	11.2
1920	26,507,011	4,102,556	15.5	417,991	57,234	13.7
1921	26,144,071	5,231,847	20.0	420,133	70,469	16.8
1922	26,025,793	4,639,615	17.8	414,715	62,680	15.1
1923	25,943,261	6,273,109	24.2	411,673	87,894	21.4
1924	25,876,797	6,574,044	25.4	409,383	94,236	23.0

## SCOTLAND.

This table shows that the same tendency is apparent in Scotland, but the movement has not yet gone so far.

		Number.	Acreage.	Percentage of total holdings.	Percentage of total acreage.
1914	...	5,891	526,557	7.7	11.0
1922	....	7,724	820,749	10.1	17.4
1923	...	8,381	883,558	11.0	18.7

**Agricultural Holdings, 1923.**

The following table shows the numbers of each class of holding. It illustrates the tremendous importance of the small-holder.

Size.	England.	Wales including Monmouth	Scotland.		
			Per cent. of number	Per cent. of total	Per cent. of number
Above 1 and not exceeding 5 acres	...	68,538	19.6	9,136	14.8
5 to 20 acres	...	93,740	26.8	19,309	31.3
20 to 50 acres	...	65,509	18.7	14,356	23.3
Above 1 and not exceeding 50 acres (i.e. Small holdings)	...	227,787	65.1	42,801	69.4
50 to 100 acres	...	49,759	14.2	11,037	17.9
100 to 150 acres	...	27,265	7.8	4,579	7.4
150 to 300 acres	...	32,593	9.3	2,972	4.8
Above 300 acres	...	12,545	3.6	335	.5
Total	...	349,949	100.0	61,724	100.0
Average acreage of Holdings	...	66	-	45.6	61.1

**Acreage and Yield of Principal Crops.****GREAT BRITAIN.**

The figures shown are for 1914, for 1918, in which year the war-time measures for agricultural control reached their maximum effectiveness, and for 1923. It will be seen that there was a steep rise in the acreage of the food crops in 1918, accompanied by a slighter decline in the fodder crops. The 1923 figures show that agriculture has now returned to the 1914 position.

Crop.	1914.		1918.		1923.	
	Acreage per acre. 1,000 acres.	Avg. yield Cwt.	Acreage per acre. 1,000 acres.	Avg. yield Cwt.	Acreage per acre. 1,000 acres.	Avg. yield Cwt.
<b>I. FOOD CROPS.</b>						
Wheat ...	1,868	18.3	2,636	18.4	1,799	17.6
Barley ...	1,699	16.1	1,654	15.7	1,483	14.8
Oats ...	2,849	14.3	4,024	14.7	2,945	13.8
Potatoes ...	614	6.6 tons	803	6.7 tons	604	5.9 tons
<b>II. FODDER CROPS.</b>						
Turnips & Swedes	1,473	13.4 tons	1,306	13.4 tons	1,268	13.8 tons
Hay from Clover, Sainfoin, &c.	1,963	28.0 cwt.	1,836	29.3 cwt.	2,229	31.3 cwt.
Hay from Grass	4,942	21.8	4,447	22.1	4.510	22.7
Totals ...	15,408	—	16,706	—	14,840	—

**Yield of Crops in Various Countries, 1923.**

Country.	Wheat. Quintals per Hectare.	Barley. Quintals per Hectare.	Oats. Quintals per Hectare.	Potatoes. Quintals per Hectare.
Great Britain and Northern Ireland	22.1	18.6	17.5	147.4
Germany ...	19.6	17.8	18.3	119.5
Belgium ...	26.0	26.6	25.8	185.1
Denmark ...	29.1	25.3	20.2	149.9
Jugo-Slavia ...	10.7	8.5	8.3	54.4
France ...	13.6	14.4	14.3	68.3
Hungary ...	13.8	13.0	12.3	66.5
Italy ...	13.1	9.9	11.7	51.6
Holland ...	26.8	27.3	19.6	151.9
Sweden ...	20.6	16.1	14.8	103.3
Czecho-Slovakia ...	16.2	17.4	15.8	97.8
Canada ...	14.1	14.9	14.3	110.9
United States ...	9.1	13.5	11.4	72.7
India ...	8.0	—	—	—
Egypt ...	17.8	16.1	—	—
Argentine ...	9.7	10.2	10.6	59.0
Australia ...	8.9	10.7*	6.6*	60.7*

1922.

**Live Stock.****GREAT BRITAIN.**

During the last fifty years the numbers of cattle and pigs in Great Britain have increased slightly, while sheep have declined. But in proportion to the growth of population all kinds have declined, so that whereas in 1873 practically all meat consumed was raised at home, about 50 per cent. now has to be imported.

	1873	1914	1918	1923	1924.
Cattle	... 5,964,549	7,092,918	7,410,327	7,016,582	7,058,726
Sheep	... 29,427,635	24,285,514	23,353,373	20,621,256	21,729,347
Pigs	... 2,500,259	2,634,249	1,825,073	2,797,633	3,427,166
Per cent. of 1873.					
Cattle	... 100	118.9	124.2	117.6	118.6
Sheep	... 100	82.5	79.4	70.1	73.8
Pigs	... 100	105.4	73.0	111.9	136.1

**Stock Units Per 100 Acres Crops and Grass.****VARIOUS COUNTRIES.**

This table indicates that while other European countries have in the last fifty years increased the number of animals maintained on the land, Britain shows a decrease.

Country.		Nearest year to 1873.	Nearest year to 1922.	Increase + Decrease
Great Britain	...	1873 34.3	1922 33.1	-1.2
France	...	1883 17.7	1913 20.4	+2.7
Germany	...	1873 25.7	1913 30.8	+5.1
Belgium	...	1880 31.1	1912 47.0	+15.9
Holland	...	1873 22.7	1922 44.9	+12.2
Denmark	...	1872 24.0	1922 39.4	+15.4

**Agriculture Output of Great Britain.**

(As ESTIMATED BY THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE).

Here we have the estimated value of the total produce of British farms. In conjunction with the next tables it shows how dependent we are on foreign supplies.

	1922.	1923.
Farm Crops	... 47,000,000	... 54,000,000
Live Stock	... 108,000,000	... 95,000,000
Dairy Produce	... 77,000,000	... 79,000,000
Wool	... 3,250,000	... 4,250,000
Poultry & Eggs	... 16,000,000	... 13,500,000
Miscellaneous	... 10,000,000	... 13,000,000
	<u>261,250,000</u>	<u>258,750,000</u>

## Imports of Various Foodstuffs into U.K.

This table shows the quantity and value of various foods imported in 1904, 1914, and 1924. All these foods are also produced in this country.

Commodity.	1904.		1914.		1924.	
	Quantities. cwt.s.)	Value. £	Quantities. cwt.s.)	Value. £	Quantities. cwt.s.)	Value. £
Wheat (cwt.s.)	97,782,500	34,266,416	103,926,743	44,734,079	118,275,513	69,603,138
Barley "	27,173,455	7,771,115	16,044,422	5,660,312	21,745,151	12,149,929
Oats "	14,097,700	3,726,120	14,156,715	4,674,417	10,491,343	4,414,431
Flour & Wheatmeal (cwt.s.)	14,722,893	7,258,600	10,060,223	5,549,048	11,057,072	8,333,898
Cattle for Food no.	549,532	9,736,436	2,284	46,295	1,901,191	19,144,568
Sheep, etc., for Food no.	382,240	591,984	1,707	3,000	589,107	1,764,505
Bacon & Hams (cwt.s.)	6,770,613	15,937,141	5,936,910	21,288,646	9,502,079	45,023,115
Beef (cwt.s.)	5,051,253	9,857,322	9,677,810	23,365,03	13,630,073	32,017,431
Mutton "	3,530,659	6,946,989	5,261,005	11,503,680	5,215,241	20,104,481
Butter "	4,241,905	21,117,162	3,984,204	24,014,76	5,292,761	49,669,468
Cheese "	2,556,294	5,846,599	2,433,864	7,906,62	2,889,459	13,571,548
Eggs (1,000's)	2,393,111	6,730,574	2,148,577	8,632,800	2,937,765	15,504,314
Apples (cwt.s.)	3,771,781	2,118,294	2,929,649	2,046,824	7,248,526	8,394,092
Potatoes "	9,903,965	2,437,971	3,332,164	1,535,515	9,910,530	5,434,466
Onions (bushels)	8,292,136	1,076,472	7,513,513	1,480,773	9,517,244	2,102,387
Total ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
					£134,819,195	£162,611,030
					£307,261,771	

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# AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION

**T**HE years which followed the war have not proved encouraging to those who hoped that new conditions and the advent of new men into the agricultural industry would mean the rapid development of the co-operative movement in England. The failure is partly due to the severe agricultural depression of the years 1920 to 1923, which chiefly affected those younger men in small specialist farms from whom most support might have been expected. The compulsory liquidation of some prominent societies has had a most disheartening effect.

It is best to divide co-operative societies into three main groups. *Requirement Societies* supply their members with seeds, manures, implements, etc. *Service Societies* undertake for their members such work as threshing or steam ploughing, the providing of electricity, or the keeping of stud bulls and stallions. *Produce Societies* are chiefly concerned with the marketing of their members' produce.

## I.—Requirement Societies.

In Great Britain the bulk of the business is done by Farmers' Societies. The Agricultural Wholesale Society, which has since been wound up, was responsible for sales of over £300,000 a year, but like several others ran at a loss.

Year.	Societies.	Membership.	Sales.	Profit or loss.
1919	581	94,408	£8,995,544	£65,608 (Profit)
1920	703	117,040	£13,351,169	£102,412 (Loss)
1921	713	117,605	£10,679,709	£147,828 (Loss)
1922	636	113,823	£8,813,355	£7,519 (Loss)
1923	596	107,216	£8,366,949	£27,633 (Loss)

This type of society has developed strongly in Denmark, where the Fertiliser Purchasing Societies, and the Feeding Stuff Societies have each memberships of over 70,000, and the latter group has an annual turnover of £6,000,000. This side of the co-operative movement is closely connected with credit, for it is by the supply of seeds that dealers most readily become money-lenders. This is a universal danger in farming. The Raffeisen system in Germany has done much, and the "Dharma Golas" in India have done something to remedy this evil. In 1923 the Co-operative popular Banks of Italy numbered 829 with 1,219 branches and 498,756 members. Over a million families of French cultivators are to-day combined in some 4,000 "syndicats" which provide credit and purchase requisites.

**II.—Service Societies.**

These include Cattle Insurance Societies and Small Holdings and Allotment Societies. The large farmer has little to gain from Service Societies, and small farms are responsible for the great bulk of the figures tabulated below showing the business done in Great Britain during the last five years.

Year.	Societies.	Membership.	Profit.
1919	750	123,307	£26,019
1920	937	153,046	£9,872
1921	976	168,525	£3,042 (Loss)
1922	981	176,911	£10,135
1923	974	178,036	£9,438

Similar societies in Denmark number 2,726 (including 270 Electricity Supply Societies) and have a membership of 155,000. A satisfactory development in England is the growth of Milk Recording Societies, which do most of the work performed by "control" societies on the Continent. Another help to scientific dairy farming, the mutual insurance of stock, has not become very popular in any country except Holland, where some 40 per cent of the cattle are insured under this method. In Germany 4,873 co-operative societies were supplying electric power to agricultural areas in 1922.

**III.—Produce Societies.**

The marketing of milk, dairy products, eggs and poultry are the chief co-operative enterprises which deal with the sale of farmers' products in this country, and the 94 dairy societies, and 65 egg and poultry societies are responsible for three-quarters of the sales in the figures for the last five years.

Year.	Societies.	Membership.	Sales.	Profit
1919	315	45,779	£7,157,444	£47,220
1920	302	44,201	£7,920,488	£116,420 (Loss)
1921	263	40,309	£5,952,385	£6,396 (Loss)
1922	248	38,395	£4,199,533	£11,812
1923	230	38,060	£3,343,536	£2,694 (Loss)

It appears that this type of co-operation, which is flourishing and developing in Germany, France, Denmark, New Zealand, and U.S.A., can make little advance in this country. Still some encouragement can be drawn from the successful collective bargaining of the National Farmers' Union who obtained terms from the London retailers which have been generally adopted throughout the country. The lack of any export trade, the proximity of markets, and the failure through bad management of several large societies, all tend to keep the British farmer out of the movement. The following quotation

from the *Ministry of Labour Gazette* is a fair, if discouraging, statement of the position to-day. "In England and Wales the aggregate loss incurred by societies in 1922 was almost trebled in 1923. In addition to a much heavier loss sustained by the Agricultural Wholesale Society (now in process of winding up by order of Court), very unsatisfactory results were obtained by a County Farmers' Association in the Requirements group, and by a Co-operative Bacon Factory in the Produce Group." The modern tendency seems to be towards collective bargaining between groups of farmers and the large retailing enterprises, rather than towards the foundation of manufacturing and retailing societies financed and controlled by the farmers themselves.

Valuable facilities for the study of agricultural co-operation are provided by the Horace Plunkett Foundation. This serves as a clearing house of information about the movement in Britain and the Dominions.

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## AGRICULTURAL WAGES

THE first stage of the operation of the Agricultural Wages Act passed by the late Labour Government has been successfully completed. Throughout England and Wales minimum rates have been fixed for agricultural workers. The contention of Labour that the industry could pay better rates than hitherto prevailed has been proved; a general increase has taken place aggregating four million pounds sterling. In all cases a guaranteed working week has been agreed to, the advantage of which cannot be overestimated, as hitherto bad weather was allowed to interfere with a full working week, involving loss of pay.

In the low-paid counties, such as Norfolk and Suffolk, the rates have risen by 3s. and 4s. in winter and summer respectively. The highest minima are mainly found in areas contiguous to industrial centres, namely, Lancashire (Eastern) 42s., Lancashire (Northern) 37s., Yorkshire 36s., Glamorgan 37s. 6d., Derbyshire 36s. The farmers in these areas are compelled to pay a better rate owing partly to the pressure exercised by the rates prevailing in other industries in the neighbourhood. There is no evidence showing that they are worse off than their confreres in other parts of England who pay lower rates; this suggests that if the workers

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were organised better rates could be obtained in counties where the competition of other industrial undertakings is not felt.

In only four counties does the rate fall below 30s., namely, Bedford, Berks, Norfolk, and Suffolk. This is regrettable. Having regard to the examples of adjacent counties, there is little or no justification for falling below this figure, particularly as the sugar beet subsidy brings assistance to farmers in Suffolk and Norfolk. The remedy lies in better organisation. The machinery set up has proved its efficiency, and it is greatly to the credit of the Labour Government and Mr. Noel Buxton, who was the Minister responsible, that they succeeded in passing into law a measure for which the labourers have struggled for generations.

## Wage Board Rates.

		Weekly Minimum Rate.	Guaranteed Hours per week.	Overtime per hour.
Bedfordshire and Huntingdon	29/-	... 48	...	9d.
Berkshire	29/2	... 50	...	8½d.
Bucks	30/-	... 48 winter ... 50 summer	...	9d. 1 rod. (Sundays)
Cambs. and Isle of Ely	30/-	... 51	...	9d. 1 rod. (Sundays)
Cheshire	35/-	... 54	...	9d.
Cornwall and Scilly Isles	31/-	... 51	...	9d. 1 rod. (Sundays)
Cumberland and Westmorland	30/-	... 48 Winter ... 54 Summer	...	8d.
Derbyshire	36/-	... 54	...	1 rod. (Sundays)
Devon	32/6	... 50	...	8½d. 1 rod. (Sundays)
Dorset	30/-	... 51	...	
Durham	32/-	... 51	...	9d.
Essex	30/-	... 48 Winter ... 50 Summer	...	To be settled
Gloucester	30/-	... 50 ... 48 Winter	...	9d.
Hants. and Isle of Wight	30/-	... 51 Summer	...	
Herefordshire	31/-	... 48 Winter ... 52 Summer	7½d. between 6 a.m. and 6 p.m.; one and a quar- ter times 7½d. for other weekday overtime; one and a half times 7½d. for Sunday employment.	

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Hertfordshire	...	...	...	7½d. per hour	...	48	1½ times 7½d.
Kent	...	...	...	32/6	...	48 Winter 52 Summer	10d. 1/- (Sundays)
Lancs.—Southern Area	...	...	33/6	...	50		1/-
Eastern Area	...	42/-	...	60			1/-
Northern Area	...	37/6	...	60			1/-
Leicester and Rutland	...						
		Leicester	34/-	{	54	9d.	
		Rutland	32/6	}		1½d. (Sundays)	
Holland (Lincoln)	...	...	36/-	...	48	9d.	
						10d. in excess of 5½ hours week- days; 1/1½ Sun- days.	
Kesteven and Lindsay	...	32/-	...	48 Winter 52 Summer		9d.	
Middlesex	...	...	33/-	...	48 Winter 50 Summer	1½d. (Sundays) 10d.	
Monmouth	...	...	34/4½	...	48 Winter 50 Summer	1½ times as much 1½ times Sunday	
Norfolk	...	...	28/- 29/-	...	48 Winter 50 Summer		
Northants and Soke of Peterborough	...	30/-	...	48 Winter 50 Summer		9d. 1½d. (Sundays)	
Northumberland	...	...	34/-	...	48 Winter 52½ Summer	1½ times 1½ times Sunday	
Notts.	..	...	32/-	...	50	9d.	
Oxford	...	...	30/-	...	48 Winter 50 Summer	9d. 1½d. (Sundays)	
Shropshire	...	...	31/6	...	54	8d. between 54-60 hours; 9d. in excess of 60.	
Somerset	...	...	32/-	...	52		
Staffs.	...	...	31/6	...	54	9d.	
Suffolk	...	...	28/- 29/-	...	48 Winter 50 Summer	9d.	
Surrey	...	...	32/3	...	50	10d.	
Sussex	...	...	30/-	...	48 Winter 52 Summer	1½d. (Sundays)	
Warwickshire	...	...	30/-	...	48 Winter 50 Summer	9d. 1½d. (Sundays)	
Wiltshire	...	...	30/-	...	50	8d.	
Worcester	...	...	30/-	...	48 Winter 53 Summer	8½d.	
Yorks., N. Riding	...	...	33/-	...	48 Winter 52½ Summer	10d. 1/- (Sundays)	
Yorks., E. Riding	...	...	34/-	...	48 Winter 52½ Summer	10d. 1/1 (Sundays)	

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Yorks., W. Riding	...	...	36/-	...	48 Winter	11d.
				...	52½ Summer	1/1 (Sundays)
WALES.						
Anglesey and Carnarvon	...	30/-	...	50	...	9d.
Carmarthen	...	30/-	...	54	...	8½d.
				(including Sunday)		
Denbigh	...	30/-	...	50	...	9d.
Glamorgan	...	37/6	...	51 Winter	10d.	
				...	53 Summer	11d. (Sundays)
Merioneth and Montgomery	...	31/-	...	54	...	9d.
Pembroke and Cardigan	...	30/-	...	50 Winter	8d.	
				...	54 Summer	9d. Sundays for first 3 hours; 10½d. subsequent hours.
Radnor and Brecon	...	31/-	...	50 Winter	9½d.	
			...	52 Summer	11d. (Sundays)	

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## STABILISATION OF WHEAT PRICES

ONE of the first steps to be taken if agriculture is to be placed on a secure economic foundation is to safeguard the farmer from the business risks involved by constantly fluctuating prices. Whether or not the farmer makes a profit or a loss on his wheat depends, of course, mainly on the price he gets when he sells it. But so long as the price is determined by the chance as to whether he sells in this or that market, in this week or another, farming cannot be regarded as a commercial enterprise, but is more or less a mere gambling speculation. Moreover, it is a gamble in which the dice are loaded against the farmer. The price of grain from week to week depends on factors quite outside the knowledge or experience of the average farmer. Speculative movements on the Chicago and Winnipeg grain exchanges, bad weather in India, a temporary glut in shipping due to weather conditions on the North Atlantic, or the chance whether the Danubian or Black Sea ports are open after the winter frosts in one week or another, may make all the difference to a farmer marketing his grain between a profitable year or a year of losses. The grain merchants and millers keep themselves well informed on these matters and the farmer,

who has no access to their specialised information and has enough to occupy his mind in the actual working of his farm, is at their mercy. These temporary factors, of course, may not affect the average price of grain over the whole year. But they govern the day-to-day fluctuations of prices and they, and not the farmer, determine whether his business ~~pays~~ a profit or makes a loss.

The returns published by the Board of Agriculture of average prices on British markets week by week show how wide and how arbitrary these fluctuations are. Even in the comparatively steady period before the war, the difference between the highest and lowest average weekly prices were sometimes as much as 20 per cent. to 25 per cent. of the average price. Since the War, the fluctuations have been much wider. Moreover, as the figures of quantities marketed week by week indicate, the majority of farmers market their grain at prices below the arithmetical weekly average. In America, President Coolidge has in recent speeches emphasised the fact that the problem of agriculture is no longer one of production, but of marketing. In this country, the Linlithgow Committee drew special attention to the fact that the methods of marketing had not adjusted themselves to the changes in world conditions in the last half century, and the intermediary machinery of merchants and others absorbed a quite disproportionate amount of the price ultimately paid by the consumer.

In other countries, e.g., Denmark, Holland, the Dominions, etc., which mainly export their produce, and in the United States where the produce is mainly consumed on the internal markets, farmers have, by co-operative organisation, both secured the advantage which comes from bulk selling of produce and safeguarded themselves individually from the chances of losses on account of day-to-day fluctuations in prices. In such organisations the farmer can rely upon getting the average price of the year's trading for his produce. He has thus safeguarded himself against the risk of losses due to temporary gluts. In this country it is not enough for farmers merely to organise their sales co-operatively for prices here depend on world conditions. It is necessary, if the price of home grain is to be stabilised, that the prices of imported grain which govern the home market should also be stabilised.

The Labour policy proposes to secure such stabilisation of British markets by centralising the whole import of foreign wheat in the hands of a State monopoly, whose object it would be to purchase from abroad all the wheat required by this country and to supply it to the mills at steady prices over long periods. These prices would be so fixed as to yield neither a profit nor a loss to the Import Board, i.e., over long periods they would coincide with average world prices. The Import Board, by bulk purchases from organised farmers in the Dominions and elsewhere and by carrying reserves in actual stocks or on contract here or in countries of origin, would determine a considerable distance ahead with approximate accuracy what would be the price at which it would stabilise the imported grain. Then, by controlling the supply of imported grain to British mills so as to keep prices steady it could, in effect, guarantee to British farmers within very narrow limits a stabilised price for British grain over long periods. The farmer could then proceed with his proper business of farming without the waste of time and money involved in his efforts to beat the market. He would know when he sows at approximately what price he would be able to sell his grain when he reaps. He would be protected against dumping, speculation and other market risks. He would be able for the first time to organise his farming operations on much more exact business lines. Moreover, with the diminution of fluctuations, the role of the middleman would disappear and with it the heavy toll which he levies between the farmer and the consumer. Since, also, the price of the farmer's produce would be known and fixed over a considerable period ahead, a firm and reliable basis would be provided for agricultural wage rates. So far as the consumer was concerned, the fixing of wheat prices in this manner would provide a known and firm basis for the price of flour and of bread and profiteering could be easily detected and dealt with.

Alike, from the point of view of the farmer, the agricultural labourer and the consumer, the stabilisation of wheat prices is a valuable step forwards towards a reasonable reorganisation of agriculture. The only justifiable opposition is likely to come from the middlemen and intermediaries who would find themselves deprived of their present jobs.

## FORESTRY

**T**HE latest available figures reveal the backwardness of forestry in the United Kingdom. The percentage of total area under woodland in various European countries is as follows :—

United Kingdom	...	...	...	...	4.0
Germany	...	...	...	...	25.9
Sweden	...	...	...	...	47.0
Russia in Europe	...	...	...	...	37.0
France	...	...	...	...	18.2
Belgium	...	...	...	...	17.2
Norway	...	...	...	...	21.0
Europe	...	...	...	...	31.0

In the United Kingdom less than 3 per cent. of the woods belong to the State, whereas in Russia 66 per cent., Germany 33 per cent., Sweden 33 per cent., and Norway 28 per cent. of the forests are State-owned.

The total area under woodland in the United Kingdom is approximately three million acres. Most of this consists of woodlands and forests cultivated for non-forestry reasons, e.g., for sport and general amenities. The Royal Commission (1909) estimated that there were nine million acres available for forestry in these islands. The Forestry Sub-Committee (1918) put the figure at between four and five million acres. The latter estimate includes "no land which is arable or can be reclaimed for permanent agricultural purposes."

All the experts agree that a vigorous forestry policy is necessary. Both the Royal Commission (1909) (Cd4460) and the Forestry Sub-Committee (1918) (Cd8881) agreed :—

- (a) That the area at present under woodland (United Kingdom) could, under correct sylvicultural management, yield much better results.
- (b) That the forest areas could be greatly increased.
- (c) That the afforestable land in the United Kingdom is capable of producing a yield of timber equal in quality and quantity per acre to that imported.

The vast bulk of our timber supply is imported from abroad. In 1923, the value of our imports of timber, wood manufactures and wood pulp amounted to over 62 million pounds.

Up to 1919 this country was "the only country in Europe without a forest policy, without a State Forest, and above all, without a forest authority." The Forestry Act (1919) set up a forest authority (The Forestry Commission), and a sum of over three millions was voted by Parliament for a ten-year planting

programme. The Commissioners are working on a scheme which provides for the planting of 1,770,000 acres in 80 years. Up to September, 1923, the Commissioners had acquired 50,300 acres by purchase and 128,907 acres by lease; 150,000 acres will have been planted by 1929. In addition to the State forests, it is proposed during the same ten-year period to assist private owners and local authorities to afforest or replant 110,000 acres.

Forestry, generally speaking, is not "economic" in the ordinary capitalist sense. There are no "quick returns." The State, however, can afford to wait, and, moreover, there are sound reasons for the State embarking on a vigorous forestry scheme. The chief of these is the creation of new occupations on the land, thus ensuring the re-settlement of a large and healthy rural population. The Royal Commission (1909) estimated that a programme of 150,000 acres per annum would give employment to 18,000 men (12 per 100 acres) each year during the planting season (four to five months). This figure of 12 men per hundred acres is an average figure and includes bad areas (where much clearing is necessary) and good areas (where no clearing is necessary).

For every hundred acres planted permanent employment is provided for one man. On a programme of 150,000 acres per annum, permanent employment in direct forestry work could be found for an additional 1,500 each year, rising to 90,000 at the end of the rotation (60 years). If we take the lower estimate of the Forestry Committee (5 million acres) a rotation of 60 years would give an annual programme of 83,000 acres. This would provide seasonal employment for 10,000 men and permanent employment to 830 at the end of the first year, rising by 830 each year to 50,000 in 60 years. These would be employed purely in sylvicultural work to the point of clear felling. In addition there would be an immense amount of permanent employment in saw-milling, wood-working, forest industries and transport.

Forestry to be successful must be combined with a policy of land settlement. Forestry works in well with agriculture, for tree planting can best be done in winter—the farmer's slackest period. Therefore, wherever possible, forestry schemes should be combined with land settlement. A really adequate forestry and land settlement programme would amount practically to a process of colonisation for the United Kingdom. This will only be possible when the land is under the direct control of the State.

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# SOME VITAL STATISTICS

## MORTALITY STATISTICS, 1913-23

Year	Deaths.			Rate per 1,000 living.		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Persons
1913	261,687	243,288	504,975	14.8	12.9	13.8
1919	258,088	246,114	504,203	15.0	12.5	13.7
1920	240,302	225,828	466,130	13.4	11.5	12.4
1921	234,291	224,338	458,629	13.0	11.3	12.1
1922	247,221	239,559	486,780	13.6	12.0	12.8
1923	226,858	217,927	444,785	12.4	10.9	11.6

### CAUSES OF DEATH.

Cause	Death rate per million living.					
	1913	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923
1. Epidemic, Endemic and Infectious Diseases ... ...	2,322	2,971	2,077	1,861	2,269	1,746
2. General Disease (including Cancer) ... ... ...	1,467	1,511	1,541	1,612	1,645	1,665
3. Diseases of the Nervous System ... ... ... ...	1,548	1,362	1,296	1,271	1,287	1,241
4. Diseases of the Circulating System ... ... ... ...	1,690	1,822	1,745	1,800	2,002	1,926
5. Diseases of the Respiratory System ... ... ... ...	2,286	2,471	2,157	1,955	2,308	1,868
6. Diseases of the Digestive System ... ... ... ...	1,264	735	775	933	668	698
7. Diseases of the Genito Urinary System ... ... ... ...	548	475	468	473	479	476
8. Diseases of Childbirth ...	185	154	210	168	149	144
9. Skin Diseases ... ... ...	95	92	92	85	81	78
10. Diseases of the Bones, etc. ...	20	23	22	20	21	21
11. Malformation ... ... ...	107	84	112	101	98	94
12. Diseases of Early Infancy ...	896	668	773	698	599	545
13. Old Age ... ... ...	844	843	701	723	746	660
14. External Causes (Suicides, Accidents, etc.) ... ...	537	498	467	436	428	445
15. Ill-Defined Diseases (including Heart Failure) ... ...	76	64	52	50	48	44

The Vital Statistics for 1924 are not yet completed, but the following are the principal items:—

Quarter ending	Deaths.			Births.			Infantile Mortality Rate.
	Number	Rate per 1,000 of Population	Rate per 1,000 of Population	Number	Rate per 1,000 of Population	Deaths per 1,000 Births	
March ...	160,279	16.6	185,486	19.2	102		
June ...	114,176	11.8	187,157	19.4	69		
September ...	90,155	9.2	186,648	19.1	53		
December ...	108,660	11.1	170,995	17.5	75		
Year ...	473,270	12.2	730,286	18.8	75		

## RAILWAYS

**T**HE present position of the railways is governed by the Railways Act, 1921, which instituted the grouping system. Previous to that the railways in Great Britain had been owned by about 120 companies. Then war time exigencies put them all under National control. It became evident in 1918 that it was impossible to return them to the owners on the 1914 basis. Even "before the War the value of the shares of railways was declining and the difficulty of raising capital was increasing. The position of the railways—their future, their organisation, and their finance—was the subject of grave consideration right down to the year before the War" (Sir Eric Geddes. 26/5/21).

On November 16th, 1918, Mr. Lloyd George, then Prime Minister, gave some indication of the solution contemplated. "There is," he said, "the problem of transportation left very largely to chance—rails, canals, roads, trains; all vital to the lives, the industry, the amenities of the people of this country—that problem must be taken in hand under the *direct* inspiration and control of the State." When in December, in answer to a question, Mr. Winston Churchill, also a member of the Government, announced that it had been decided to nationalise the railways, railway stock rose, and it was generally anticipated that the railways would be nationalised.

### **The 1921 Railways Act.**

Apparently, however, considerable pressure was brought to bear, with the result that the Government gave up the idea of nationalisation. In its place they introduced and passed the Railways Act, 1921. The Act did little to deal with the real problems of the railway industry, merely instituting four railway trusts in private ownership.

1. The Great Western Railway;
2. The London Midland and Scottish Railway;
3. The London and North Eastern Railway;
4. The Southern Railway.

By way of compensation for war depreciation the railways received a sum of £60,000,000 (reduced by tax to £51,000,000). This compensation was paid despite the fact that the companies had been guaranteed the net profits of 1913, which had been a boom year for them.\* Further the railways were allowed under the grouping system to maintain their 1913 receipts plus additional receipts for new fructified capital. If profits exceeding the 1913 level were made owing to economies produced by unification, the companies were allowed to retain one-fifth, the other four-fifths being utilised to reduce the charge on rates. The effect of this is that no rate can come down without another rate going up. Also when trade is bad and traffic is small, railways may, contrary to public policy, raise rates to maintain 1913 levels; an action that will further hamper trade. The railways have stated their case very plainly in their opposition to the Motorways Bill ("Manchester Guardian," 18/6/24):—

"Any partial success which may be attained by the scheme would be mainly secured by traffic diverted from contiguous railways. Such traffic would be principally that carried by the railway companies at the higher rates, as the road carrier does not cater for the transport of lower grade traffic such as coal and iron ore. It has therefore to be recognised that if the railway undertakings are to lose revenue by the diversion to the roads of any substantial proportion of their more remunerative traffics, or forced to reduce the rates on such traffics, the charges for the low classed traffics which consists mainly of raw materials for the basic industries will have to be raised in order to secure to the railway companies the revenue to which they are entitled under the provisions of the Railway Act, 1921..."

Railway capital includes at least £198,000,000 of watered capital (Board of Trade, 1913) besides capital which has been expended in buying up canals which are earning nothing, but on the purchase money of which interest must be paid. The strength of railway finance may be gathered from the fact that reserves amounted to £121,000,000 in December 31st, 1923, compared with £21,000,000 on the same date in 1913, an increase of £100,000,000 in ten years, covering a most costly war!

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\*The net cost of the railway agreements under which the railways were guaranteed their net receipts (as defined for the year 1913) during the period of possession, may be estimated at between £155,000,000 and £160,000,000. These figures allow for the conveyance of all Government traffic at appropriate rates and also include the lump sum payments authorised by the Railway Act and the Irish Railways (Settlement of Claims) Act, 1921, which cannot be appropriated to particular years (Hansard, 3rd March, 1925).

**Four Trusts.**

The grouping of the railways into four trusts can only be looked upon as a step towards nationalisation. Unification is the only way out of the anomalies that exist with four companies. To be consistent, four post-offices should be brought into existence. The 51 millions granted by the Government is being used, not so much for arrears of maintenance, but more for the maintenance of profits. The London, Midland and Scottish alone took £1,150,000 for dividends for the year 1923-24. When these funds have disappeared and competition on roads and air increases, the railway companies in using their statutory power to increase rates may find that the demand for nationalisation may come, not from a political party, but from the combined industries of the country.

**NUMBERS EMPLOYED AND WAGES IN THE RAILWAY SERVICE.**

A RETURN has been compiled by the Ministry of Transport showing the total number of persons employed by the railway companies in Great Britain during the week ended 29th March, 1924, and the numbers employed in each of the principal grades, with corresponding figures for 24th, March, 1923. The Return also gives a comparison of the rates of pay of some of the principal classes at 1st July, 1923, and 1st July, 1924, and of the average weekly earnings of selected grades at 24th March, 1923, and 29th March, 1924.

*Numbers Employed.*—The total number of persons employed in March, 1924, was 700,573, compared with 681,778 in March, 1923, 676,802 in March, 1922, and 735,870 in March, 1921. These numbers include all persons actually employed, except staff not directly employed by the companies (e.g., staff employed by contractors). In order to arrive at the number of full-time workers in March, 1924, all broken time has been aggregated in respect of each grade, and divided by the normal weekly hours, the resultant figure being added to the number of staff who were paid for a full week. In previous years persons who were paid for time equivalent to less than three days in the week were excluded from the returns. The numbers employed in some of the principal grades in March, 1924, and March, 1923, are shown below, separate figures being given for those paid at the rates for adults and those at juniors' rates respectively. (See table on next page.)

The number of males employed in each of the principal departments in March, 1924, were as follows:—

Department.	Adults.	Juniors.
Officers, clerical and supervisory staff ...	100,272	4,362
Traffic department ... ... ...	114,933	8,346
Goods and cartage staff ... ... ...	61,845	7,027
Permanent way section (conciliation grades) ...	65,584	208
Locomotive, carriage and wagon department ...	111,743	*5,625
Shop and artisan staff ... ... ...	125,782	16,706
Other departments (excluding ancillary staff) ...	17,343	1,204
Staff in ancillary businesses (docks, hotels, refreshment rooms, etc.) ... ... ...	33,647	2,076

<sup>†</sup>Excluding Railway employees of the Manchester Ship Canal Co., who numbered 1,424 in March, 1924.

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The numbers employed by the four railway groups in March, 1924, were : London, Midland and Scottish, 274,523; London and North Eastern, 207,528; Great Western, 117,113; and Southern, 70,484.

*Wages.*—The average weekly salary or wage, and the average weekly earnings, of adult males in the principal grades in March, 1924, and March, 1923, are summarised in the following Table. The average salary is calculated on the basis of 6/313ths of the annual salaried rate, including residual bonus, if any. The average wage is based on the standard rate (plus bonus additions, if any, under sliding scale); in the case of mechanics and artisans it is arrived at by adding the war wage to the standard or basic rate. The average earnings represent salaries or wages, residual bonus (if any), war wage, piece-work earnings, tonnage bonus, payments for overtime, Sunday duty and night duty, commuted allowance, and any other payments for work performed ; but exclude compensation allowance, travelling and out-of-pocket expenses, and meal and lodging allowances.

Grade.		Week ended 29th March, 1924.	Week ended 24th March, 1923.		
	MALES :—	Adults.	Juniors.	Adults.	Juniors.
Carters and Vanguards	...	17,107	4,164	16,646	3,944
Checkers	...	11,118	41	10,887	9
Engine cleaners	...	7,687	3,698	9,495	2,739
Engine drivers and motormen	...	38,062	—	37,186	2
Firemen and assistant motormen	...	36,323	3	35,467	1
Guards, goods and passenger	...	24,806	1	24,472	5
Labourers	...	31,969	1,446	29,162	1,651
Locomotive shed staff (except labourers)	...	10,369	362	10,313	323
Officers and clerical staff	...	73,594	4,293	73,802	3,996
Permanent way men	...	65,535	216	63,490	203
Porters, goods and passenger	...	43,329	5,945	41,029	5,971
Shop and artisan staff (excluding supervisory staff, labourers and watchmen)	...	99,779	15,551	95,489	15,232
Shunters	...	18,040	14	17,927	33
Signallers	...	29,265	—	29,253	—
Supervisory staff	...	15,472	—	15,296	—
Other grades (excluding those in ancillary businesses)	...	75,047	7,744	74,714	7,528
Staff employed in ancillary businesses :					
Dock and quay staff	...	16,925	240	14,065	226
Other	...	16,722	1,836	16,574	1,753
<b>TOTAL—MALES</b>	...	<b>631,149</b>	<b>45,554</b>	<b>615,267</b>	<b>43,616</b>
FEMALES :—					
Clerical and technical staff	...	8,823	882	8,256	566
Office cleaners and charwomen	...	3,469	—	3,157	4
Other grades (excluding those in ancillary businesses)	...	4,309	434	4,444	362
Staff employed in ancillary business (hotels, refreshment rooms, laundries, etc.)	...	5,731	222	5,697	209
<b>TOTAL—FEMALES</b>	...	<b>22,332</b>	<b>1,538</b>	<b>21,754</b>	<b>1,141</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	...	<b>653,481</b>	<b>47,092</b>	<b>637,021</b>	<b>44,757</b>

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Class.	Week ended 29th March, 1924.				Week ended 24th March, 1923.			
	Average weekly salary or wages.	Average weekly earnings.	Average weekly salary or wages.	Average weekly earnings.				
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.				
Carters	... ... ...	52 5	58 3	54 8	58 1			
Checkers	... ... ...	54 8	59 5	56 10	59 11			
Clerks	... ... ...	81 0	84 10	80 4	83 6			
Engine cleaners	... ... ...	46 7	53 2	47 10	52 10			
Engine drivers & motormen	... ... ...	86 10	106 0	86 8	101 7			
Firemen & assistant motormen	... ... ...	64 11	78 6	65 1	75 10			
Guards	... ... ...	63 7	75 6	63 8	72 6			
Permanent way gangers	... ... ...	55 1	61 8	56 7	63 7			
Permanent way undermen	... ... ...	49 10	56 5	51 4	56 7			
Porters (goods staff)	... ... ...	50 1	53 10	51 7	53 4			
Porters, grade 2 (traffic department)	... ... ...	46 5	50 9	47 4	52 0			
Shunters, Class 1	... ... ...	65 0	74 7	64 9	74 5			
Shunters, Class 3	... ... ...	55 0	63 0	55 6	61 2			
Signalmen	... ... ...	58 7	68 4	59 4	68 4			
Station masters, yard masters, &c.	... ... ...	103 11	112 2	104 0	112 10			
Supervisory staff (inspectors and foremen)	... ... ...	95 9	106 1	96 5	104 10			
Mechanics and artisans :—								
Erectors, fitters and turners (loco., carriage & wagon dept.)	... ... ...	62 9	79 1	62 7	77 1			
Carriage and wagon builders and repairers	... ... ...	59 5	77 6	57 9	74 3			
Machinists and machinemen (loco., carriage and wagon dept.)	... ... ...	54 10	73 0	54 7	69 0			
Smiths (loco., carriage and wagon dept.)	... ... ...	63 3	82 0	63 7	77 4			
Labourers (loco., carriage and wagon dept.)	... ... ...	45 10	56 7	45 11	54 3			
Labourers (civil engineering)	45 10	51 3	46 0	49 8				

A further Return prepared by the Ministry of Transport shows the number of persons employed by the railway companies in Northern Ireland in the week ended 29th March, 1924, with particulars of the average weekly salary or wage and the average weekly earnings of the principal grades. The total number of employees was 7,589, of whom 265 were females and 239 were engaged in ancillary businesses. The average weekly wages and average earnings of some of the chief grades were as follows :—

	Average Wages.	Average. Earnings.
	s. d.	s. d.
Porters	... ... ...	46 2
Signalmen	... ... ...	54 1
Goods porters	... ... ...	50 9
Engine drivers	... ... ...	86 3
Firemen	... ... ...	66 0

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*EDITED BY*

GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P., I.L.P.

## THE MINES

*"Coal is the foundation of the economic life of Great Britain. Not only are immense quantities essential to the staple industries of the country, coal is indispensable to every household, regardless of wealth and station. The total coal output for 1923 was 276,650,000 tons, of which 104,477,000 was shipped abroad as exports or bunkers, while of the 172,173,000 tons remaining for home consumption, about 36,000,000 tons were used for domestic purposes and 136,173,000 tons in industry. More than 1,200,000 persons are employed. For twelve years the industry from which the national supply of coal is derived has been in constant turmoil and strife. There was a national coal strike in 1912, a partial strike in 1920, and the long-drawn-out and disastrous stoppage of 1921. A new coal war has just been averted, but the new settlement can be brought to an end in a year and permanent peace is not yet in sight. It must be manifest to every citizen that there is something the matter with the industry to-day."*—Lloyd George in "Coal and Power," June, 1924.

In the history of the mines of Great Britain since the war there is little doubt that Mr. Lloyd George and the Coalition Government share responsibility for the plight of the industry to-day. During the war a form of control had been instituted, which guaranteed profits to the owners and made distribution a little less anarchical. The basis, however, was that of 1914, and no real reorganisation took place.

In November, 1918, the armistice was signed and the miners were free to make new and important demands. The miners demanded an increase of 30 per cent. in wages which they based on the fact that while the cost of living had gone up 120 per cent. since 1913, wages had only risen 78 per cent. They further demanded a six-hour day and the nationalisation of the industry. A general national strike threatened, but was put off by the Government's passing the Coal Industry Commission Act. This Act, passed in 1919, set up a Commission with considerable powers, under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice Sankey, one of the Judges of the High Court. The Government gave a pledge that the findings of the Commission would be acted upon "in the spirit and in the letter."

### The Sankey Commission.

Extraordinary revelations were made in evidence before this Commission. Sir Richard Redmayne, who was the Chief

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Inspector of Mines and head of the Production Department of the Control of the Coal Mines and Chairman of the Imperial Mineral Resources Bureau, said that in his opinion,

"the present system of individual ownership of collieries is extravagant and wasteful. That is a somewhat daring statement, but I am prepared to stand by it, whether viewed from the point of view of the industry as a whole or from the national point of view and I think, by thoughtful persons on both sides, both the owners and workmen, that is generally accepted."

His evidence went to show the wastefulness of the present system, without indicating that nationalisation would serve as a solution. Among the factors in this waste are duplication of shafts; separate buying of raw materials, faulty methods of drainage; inadequate equipment, especially in the matter of trams, tubs, timber, rails, etc.; shortage of horses and mechanical power, maintenance of barriers of coal between properties, failure to work the less lucrative seams; waste of small coal; loading-freight expenses through the system of privately-owned waggons; failure to make the fullest use of by-products and an entire lack of foresight and scientific organisation in the consumption of coal. Sir Richard Redmayne further pointed out that 3,129 coal mines were owned by about 1,800 companies and owners. Between 3,500 and 4,000 million tons of coal has to be left in barriers between these properties. "Much of this coal would be recoverable under a system of collective working of collieries." Collieries have to pay high prices for timber and machinery because they buy separately; they arrange separately for the sale of their coal; privately-owned waggons are shunted and re-shunted and sent about the country empty, this service by the railway companies having to be paid for by collieries, and finally by the consumers and workers. The more backward collieries cannot raise capital to improve their equipment and there is a general waste because separate ownership involves overlapping managerial and administrative expenses. The advantages of what may be termed collective production, Sir Richard considered to be (a) enhanced production, (b) diminished cost of production, and (c) prevention of waste due to the following causes:—(1) Prevention of competition leading to a better selling price for exported coal being secured, (2) Better control of freights. If the coal owners were united they would have a better control of freights; (3) Economy of Administration—unification would reduce administrative expenses; (4) Provision of capital allowing a quicker and more extensive development of

the backward mines; (5) The more advantageous purchase of materials; (6) Reduction of colliery consumption; (7) More harmonious relations between the workmen and employers due to steadier work and adequate remuneration, derived from the better-off mines to the advantage of the poorer mines; (8) Obliteration to a great extent of vested interests and middlemen by collective production and collective distribution; (9) The amplification of the best knowledge and skill leading to greater interchange of ideas and comparison of methods.

In this disorganised state wages were, as to be expected, low. *The average earnings of all mine-workers for the five years prior to the war amounted to £82 a year or a little over 30/- a week.*

During the war average earnings had risen by 106 per cent. while the cost of living had risen by 115 per cent. and aggregate profits by 300 per cent. In fact the total of profits and royalties of the coal mining industry (not including profits from coke ovens and by-products) amounted to £160,000,000 for the five years 1914-18. The total pre-war capital was £135,000,000. The Powell Duffryn Company, a typical South Wales concern, whose capital amounted to £656,000 was shown to have made profits of £5 $\frac{1}{4}$  millions in a period of 15 years (after deducting taxation). Examples of other companies could be given, which the Commission brought to light. Statistics of accidents, low-salaried managers and mismanagements all pointed to the direction of a different system of working.

March 20th, 1919, saw the ending of the first stage of the inquiry with the publication of the first interim reports. On the same day the Sankey Report was adopted by the Government (in spirit and letter) and accepted by the miners. The Report was signed by Mr. Justice Sankey, Mr. Arthur Balfour, Sir Arthur Duckham and Sir Thomas Royden. It was a substantial recognition of the miners' claims and recommended :—

1. The reduction of the eight-hour day to a seven-hour day from July 16th. 1919. Also, subject to the economic position of the industry at the end of 1920 the adoption of the principle of the six-hour day.
2. An increase of 2/- a day for men and an increase of 1/- a day for boys.
3. The continuation of the Coal Mines Control Agreement (Confirmation) Act.

On constructive lines the report proposed (1) a levy of 1d. per ton, which should produce £1,000,000 a year for housing necessities of the colliery

districts. (2) That "Now it is in the interests of the country that the colliery worker shall in the future have an effective voice in the direction of the mine. For a generation the colliery worker has been educated socially and technically. The result is a great national asset. Why not use it?" (3) That "Even upon the evidence already given the present system of ownership and working in the coal industry stands condemned, and some other system must be substituted for it—either nationalisation or a method of unification by national purchase and/or joint control"—a staggering condemnation of the system of private enterprise that perhaps any semi-judicial body has ever given vent to.

On June 20th the concluding reports were issued. Mr. Justice Sankey reported in favour of nationalisation, control to be continued for three years from the date of the report. He recommended that legislation be passed to acquire the mines for the nation and that the owners be compensated. All reports agreed on the abolition of royalties and the state ownership of coal seams. All were agreed as to the desirability of the distribution of coal being in the hands of public bodies.

On the publication of the first report a bitter campaign was launched in the Press against nationalisation. The miners produced their proposals and in Bill form presented to the House of Commons. On July 9th, Sir Auckland Geddes announced that the price of coal would be raised 6/- a ton and the miners' case was further prejudiced—though later it came out that the rise was unwarranted. On August 18, Mr. Lloyd George announced that the nationalisation proposals of the report would not be adopted and later that the industry would be decontrolled. This action of the Government—in itself a betrayal of the miners and a breaking of their pledged word to accept the report in spirit and letter—has been the source of continuous trouble in the industry from which not only the country but the workpeople have suffered.

On the decontrol of the mines on March 31st, 1921, the factors decided on a big reduction of wages. Costs had to come down and instead of reorganisation as proposed by the Coal Commission, a reduction in wages was resorted to. The Miners' Federation put forward proposals as based on the Report but found the Government and the owners against them. Their chief contention was that wages should be paid on the national basis, but the owners insisted on the district basis. The men came out on strike and remained idle until July 4th, when they were compelled to resume work under conditions known as the National Agreement.

**The National Agreement, 1921.**

The following is the National Agreement which governs the relations between men and factors :—

**'THE TERMS OF THE AGREEMENT.'**

The terms of the agreement are as follows :—

"1. A National Board shall be constituted forthwith, consisting in equal numbers of persons chosen by the Mining Association of Great Britain and persons chosen by the Miners' Federation of Great Britain.

"There shall also be established District Boards, consisting in equal numbers of persons representing owners and workmen in each district.

"The National and District Boards shall draw up their own rules of procedure, which shall include a provision for the appointment of an Independent Chairman for each Board.

"2. The wages payable in each district shall be expressed in the form of a percentage upon the basis rates prevailing in the district, and shall be periodically adjusted in accordance with the proceeds of the industry as ascertained in such district.

"3. The amount of the percentage to be paid in each district during any period shall be determined by the proceeds of the industry in that district during a previous period, as ascertained by returns to be made by the owners, checked by joint test audit of the owners' book carried out by independent accountants appointed by each side.

"4. The sum to be applied in each district to the payment of wages above the standard wages as hereinafter defined shall be a sum equal to 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the surplus of such proceeds remaining after deduction therefrom of the amounts of the following items during the period of ascertainment—

"(a) the cost of the standard wages;

"(b) the cost of production other than wages;

"(c) standard profits equivalent to 17 per cent. of the cost of the standard wages;

and the share of the surplus applicable to wages shall be expressed as a percentage upon the basis rates prevailing in the district.

"Provided that if in any period the ascertained proceeds after deduction of costs other than wages and the cost of the standard wages, prove to have been insufficient to meet the standard profits, the deficiency shall be carried forward as a first charge to be met out of any surplus, ascertained as above, in subsequent periods.

"5. If the rates of wages thus determined in any district do not provide a subsistence wage to low paid day wage workers, such additions in the form of allowances per shift worked shall be made for that period to the daily wages of these workers as, in the opinion of the District Board, or, in the event of failure to agree by the parties, in the opinion of the Independent Chairman, may be necessary for the purpose. Such allowances shall be treated as items of cost in the district ascertainment.

"6. For the purpose of these periodical adjustments the Units shall be the districts set out in the Schedule hereto, and shall only be varied by the decision of the District Board or Boards concerned, provided that no variation shall take place prior to 1st February, 1922, in the grouping of any district unless it is mutually agreed by the representatives of both sides in the district or districts concerned.

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"7. The standard wages shall be the district basis rates existing on the 31st March, 1921, plus the district percentages payable in July, 1914 (or the equivalents in any district in which there has been a subsequent merging into new standards), plus, in the case of pieceworkers, the percentage additions which were made consequent upon the reduction of hours from 8 to 7.

"8. In no district shall wages be paid at lower rates than standard wages plus 20 per cent. thereof.

"9. The National Board shall forthwith consider what items of cost are to be included for the purposes of paragraph 4 (b), and in the event of agreement not being arrived at by the 31st July, the matter shall be deferred to the Independent Chairman for decision.

"10. The wages payable by the owners up to the 31st August inclusive shall be based upon the ascertained results of the month of March, and the wages payable during September shall be based upon the ascertained results of the month of July. The periods of ascertainment thereafter shall be decided by the National Board.

"11. During the 'temporary period' as hereinafter defined the following special arrangements shall apply in modification of the general scheme set out above:—

"(a) In calculating the proceeds for March the deduction to be made in respect of costs other than wages shall be the average of such costs during January, February and March.

"(b) In any district in which reductions in wages continue to be made after the first ascertainment, no part of the surplus proceeds shall be assigned to profits if and in so far as this would have the effect of reducing the wages below the level in the preceding month.

"When in any district there is a break in the continuity of reductions in wages upon the periodical ascensions, at that point and thereafter the general scheme shall apply fully in regard to owners' surplus profits.

"(c) The proviso to paragraph 4 regarding the carrying forward of deficiencies in standard profits shall not apply, but any net losses shall be so carried forward.

"(d) The Government will give a grant not exceeding £10,000,000 in subvention of wages.

"(e) This subvention shall be available for making such increases to the wages otherwise payable in any district as may be necessary to prevent the reductions below the March rate of wages being greater than the following amounts:—

"During July, 2s. a shift for persons of 16 years of age and upwards, and 1s. a shift for persons under 16.

"During August, 2s. 6d. and 1s. 3d. respectively.

"During September, 3s. and 1s. 6d. respectively, provided that the balance of the subvention is sufficient for this purpose.

"(f) In any district in which in any month the proceeds available for wages, calculated in accordance with the terms of this settlement, are sufficient to admit of a rate of wages equal to or higher than the rate payable under the maximum reduction for that month the wages payable by the owners shall be calculated not in terms of basis plus percentage, but on the same basis as during March, less flat rate reductions uniform throughout the district for persons of 16 years of age and upwards and persons under 16 years of age respectively.

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- "(g) In any district in which the wages calculated in accordance with the terms of this settlement are less than the wages payable under the maximum reductions aforesaid, the difference shall be met by the owners in that district during September to the extent of the aggregate net profits realised by them on the district ascertainment for July, and during October to the extent of the aggregate net profits realised by them on the district ascertainment for July and August.
- "(h) The expression 'temporary period' means the period from the date of the resumption of work to the 30th September, 1921.
- "12. The period of duration of this agreement shall be from the date of resumption of work until the 30th September, 1922, and thereafter until terminated by three months' notice on either side.
- "13. It is agreed as a principle that every man shall be entitled to return to his place when that place is available for him, and that men temporarily occupying places during the stoppage shall give way to men working in those places before the stoppage.

"It is agreed that on the other hand there shall be no victimisation of men who have been keeping the collieries open, not in the sense that they are to remain at the jobs they filled during the stoppage, but that they shall not be prevented from going back to their own jobs or from working subsequently at the colliery.

### SCHEDULE REFERRED TO.

Scotland.

Northumberland.

Durham.

South Wales and Monmouth.

Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Cannock Chase and Warwickshire.

Lancashire, North Staffordshire and Cheshire.

North Wales.

South Staffordshire and Salop.

Cumberland.

Bristol.

Forest of Dean.

Somerset.

Kent."

The modifications introduced into the successive schemes to meet the demands of the miners may be summarised as follows:—

(1) A guarantee of a minimum of 20 per cent. on the standard wages proposed by the owners.

(2) A subsistence wage for low-paid day workers.

(3) That the share of "surplus" proceeds devoted to profits shall be 17 per cent., and not 20 per cent., as proposed by the owners.

(4) That during the first month of the temporary period of three months there shall be no reduction in wages in excess of 2s. per shift, as against the 3s. proposed formerly by the Government and agreed by the owners.

(5) The Government grant up to £10,000,000 in subvention of wages.

The introduction of the principle of profit sharing in the industry is not to be included among the above, as it was already agreed upon by both the miners and owners before the stoppage took place. The details of its application were not then decided, however, and these form an important part of the final terms of settlement.

### The 1924 Inquiry.

On January 17th, 1924, the Miners' Federation of Great Britain gave three months' notice to the Mining Association of Great Britain to terminate the National Wages Agreement in the Coal Mining Industry. Negotiations took place in the currency of the notice, and the Minister of Mines kept in touch with both parties. On March 27th the employers made an offer, involving a certain amount of improvement in the conditions of labour. A delegate conference of the Miners' Federation discussed these terms and passed a resolution recommending the members of the Federation to reject them "as providing no solution of the miners' wage question generally nor giving the immediate relief so vitally necessary," and to call on the Government to institute an enquiry into "(a) wages compared with 1914; (b) wages compared with the cost of living index figure; (c) wages compared with wages now prevailing in other industries generally." A ballot of the members decided to reject the offer of the employers, coupled with an application to the Government for an inquiry by 338,650 votes to 322,392 for acceptance. The Government set up a Court of Inquiry under the chairmanship of the Right Hon. Lord Buckmaster. The report of the Court of Inquiry established the fact that day-wage workers in general and piece-workers in certain collieries earn less than they earned before the war; that in some cases men are not receiving more than 20 per cent. above the 1914 scale, and that the National Agreement has operated in some cases in such a way as to give the workmen less than they received before the war, while all owing the owners profits in excess of pre-war profits. (For fuller details see section "Industrial History, 1924.") The Court suggested that "the resumption of negotiations between the parties with a view to a modification of the terms of the Agreement of 1921 appears to offer an immediate and practicable means of effecting a new wages agreement." In accordance with this recommendation, negotiations were proceeded with and the following agreement generally accepted. The agreement is to be in force for twelve months and thereafter until terminated by a month's notice on either side. Retrospective effect is to be given to the agreement as from the 1st May.

The principal changes in the agreement as compared with the agreement of 1921 are as follows:—

In the periodical ascertainment for determining the percentage to be paid on basis rates:—

The *Standard Profits* item is to be 15 per cent. of the standard wages item instead of 17 per cent.

The *Surplus Proceeds* (after deducting the items for "Standard Wages," "Standard Profits," and "Costs other than Wages") are to be allocated as to 88 per cent. to wages instead of 83 per cent.

The *Minimum Percentage* payable on basis rates is to be the equivalent of 33½ per cent. above "Standard Wages," instead of 20 per cent.

A re-arrangement for *Recoupment of deficiencies in profits*.

*Low-Paid Day-Wage Men.* In all districts no wage is to fall below an amount equal to 40 per cent. on the "Standard Wage" of the lowest paid class in the district.

### Coal Mining Industry.

On April 15th the Minister of Labour set up a Court of Inquiry into the claim put forward by the Miners' Federation, refused by the owners. The "*Labour Gazette*" reports its findings as follows :—

The representatives of the Miners' Federation made it clear at the inquiry that they no longer adhered to the proposals which had been the subject of negotiation with the mineowners, and that the claim which they wished the Court to consider was "*a living wage*, which should not be less than the rates obtaining in 1914, with the local adjustments since made to remove anomalies, plus the increase in cost of living and the increase of 2s. per shift recommended by the Sankey Commission."

Certain figures relating to wages and earnings in each district were submitted both by the mineowners and by the miners, and the Report states that "at any rate in the case of adult day-wage workers there are few cases in which it can be found that the wage rates have reached a level equal to the 1914 rates, plus the percentage increase for the increased cost of living. The result, therefore, is that if 1914 were taken as a measure of the proper wage to be paid to those engaged in the mining industry, practically every class of day wage worker is, in terms of real wages, worse off to-day than he was then. In some cases this deficiency is most marked." In regard to the mineowners' contention that in any circumstances the 1914 test is inapplicable, the Report states: "We think the mineowners are right in saying the 1914 wages were at a high level in the history of the industry, but we do not feel able to estimate the extent to which the 1914 wages exceeded what was required for average maintenance and support. In any circumstances we are of opinion that the risks attending a miner's occupation and the conditions in which his work is performed are matters which have to be brought into consideration in any question affecting the wages of men working underground."

## SOCIALIST ANNUAL, 1925

On the subject of the effect upon output of the reduction of hours introduced in 1919 and of "lost time," the Report states that figures placed before the Court tend to show that the rate of "lost time" does vary directly with the standard of wages, and that it is also beyond question that the average rate of output per shift measured over the whole of the persons employed, has fallen. *On the other hand, whether this is due to the increased effort on the part of the workmen or to the large increase and improvement which has undoubtedly taken place in the mechanical equipment of the mines, the present rate of output per man per hour is higher than in 1913.*

The Court are of opinion that, "looking at the industry as it is to-day, it appears from the figures before us that under present conditions the profits of the industry, particularly in some districts, are unable to meet the miners' claim in full." While bearing in mind that their opinion was not asked upon the merits of the controversy relating to the Agreement of 1921, nor upon the best method of escape from the present difficulties, the Court suggest that "the resumption of negotiations between the parties, with a view to a modification of the terms of the Agreement of 1921, appears to offer an immediate and practicable means of effecting a new wages Agreement."

A statement of the points at issue was submitted, at the Court's request, by the Miners' Federation at the end of the Inquiry. These points, and the conclusions of the Court thereupon, are as follows :—

(1) *That the wages paid to the workers in the collieries under the provisions of the late agreement were substantially less than the equivalent of their pre-war earnings :—*

"With regard to day-wage workers this contention has been established. It is true also with regard to pieceworkers in certain collieries, but not to all."

(2) That the increase of 2s. per shift to adults and 1s. to boys under 16, recommended by the Coal Industry Commission in March, 1919, was, at least in part, for the purpose of raising the standard of living of the mine workers :—

"We cannot tell what was the actual purpose of allowing this increase. Paragraph 5 of the Interim Report by the Chairman suggests that the cost of living was part of the reason. The paragraph in question reads as follows :—'We recommend an increase in wage to all colliery workers of two shillings and one shilling a day, respectively, for each day worked. The

## SOCIALIST ANNUAL, 1925

reason two shillings and one shilling are recommended instead of a percentage is that it remunerates the lower-paid worker in a fairer degree, and, after all, the necessities of life are no cheaper to him than they are to his more highly-paid comrade.' "

(3) *That the agreement of 1st July, 1921, while giving the workman wages less than the equivalent of pre-war earnings, allowed the owners profits substantially in excess of pre-war profits :—*

"It is true that the Agreement permitted this result, and with regard to certain classes of workmen and certain collieries is in fact so operated."

(4) That the first charge upon the net proceeds of the industry should be a minimum wage to the workmen. That minimum should include the elements composing the standards as defined in the recent Agreement, but revised having regard to

(a) the increased cost of living, as indicated by the current figures published by the Ministry of Labour; and

(b) the improvement in the standard of living provided by the award of the Coal Industry Commission, 1919 :—

"We think that the provision of a minimum wage should have precedence over distribution of profits. We cannot specify conditions as to the basis on which that minimum should be fixed."

(5) That any standard of profits should be at a fixed rate per ton, equal to the pre-war profits per ton :—

"This is a method for amending the late agreement, which has not been discussed before us, and upon which we do not feel competent to express an opinion."

(6) That the earnings of railway wagons and the profits from coking and by-product plants should be regarded as proceeds of the industry :—

"Where these undertakings are separately owned we do not think their profits can be included; nor, apart from agreement, does the principle differ where they are under one ownership."

Appended to the Report are two schedules, giving (i) a statement of the thirteen districts into which the country is divided for the purposes of the Agreement of 1921 and showing the average number of persons employed during 1923; and (ii) a statement showing, in tabular form, the main provisions of the Agreement of 1921, and of the original claim submitted by the Miners' Federation and the offer of the Mining Association, with the amendments put forward in the course of the negotiations preceding the Inquiry.

# SOCIALIST ANNUAL, 1925

## Mines Department. Statistical Summary of Output, and the Costs of Production, Proceeds and Profits of the Coal Mining Industry for the four Quarters ending September 30th, 1924, for Great Britain.

	Quarter ending 31st December, 1923 (Cmd. 2111).	Quarter ending 31st March, 1924 (Cmd. 2244).	Quarter ending 30th June, 1924 (Cmd. 2283).	Quarter ending 30th September, 1924 (Cmd. 2308).
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
<b>Output of Coal :—</b>				
1. Tonnage of saleable coal raised	67,838,759	67,047,657	61,552,868	59,103,976
2. Mine consumption	4,114,976	4,084,447	3,793,655	3,669,060
3. Miners' coal	1,069,993	1,176,152	1,459,786	1,328,692
4. Tonnage disposable commercially	62,053,820	61,201,718	50,299,463	54,136,824
<b>Costs of production :—</b>				
5. Wages	39,261,510	38,581,084	38,471,418	37,937,018
6. Stores and timber	6,732,766	2,12,04	6,188,100	5,701,542
7. Other costs (management, salaries, insurances, repairs, office & general expenses, depreciation, etc.)	8,177,266	2/7,62	7,953,070	7,642,182
8. Miners' Welfare Fund contributions	282,313	-1,09	279,249	2/9,69
9. Royalties (including rental value of minerals where worked by proprietor)	1,573,676	-6,09	1,624,764	1,423,920
10. Total costs	56,027,531	-1,80,69	55,025,375	52,059,992
11. Deduct proceeds of miners' coal	36,556,561	-1,41	36,686,687	39,017
12. Net costs	55,661,970	17/11,28	54,658,688	53,980,250
Proceeds :—				
13. Commercial disposals	61,744,941	19/10,81	63,215,633	56,889,864
14. Debits	6,682,971	1/11,53	8,576,945	2/0,63
15. Credits	—	—	—	—
16. Number of workpeople employed	1,120,204	1,111,280	1,107,457	1,083,702
17. Number of man-shifts worked (including week-end and overtime shifts) :—				
(a) At the coal face	30,234,715	29,811,838	27,616,606	26,726,108
(b) Elsewhere below ground	30,358,115	30,048,193	28,059,907	27,226,294
(c) On the surface	15,807,862	15,530,193	14,700,636	14,208,753
(d) Total above and below ground	76,400,692	75,590,164	70,417,149	63,241,155
18. Number of man-shifts lost which could have been worked	6,637,723	7,997,159	5,062,902	6,046,371
19. Output per man-shift worked	17.76 cwts.	17.79 cwts.	17.48 cwts.	17.33 cwts.
20. Earnings per man-shift worked	10/3,33	10/2,82	10/1,12	10/10,22

# NATIONAL FINANCE

## I. THE BUDGET, 1924-25.

*(From Financial Statement, 1924-25.)*

The Final Balance Sheet 1924-25, after alterations proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

ESTIMATED REVENUE, 1924-25.		ESTIMATED EXPENDITURE, 1924-25.	
		CONSOLIDATED FUND SERVICES.	
	£		£
Customs . . . . .	101,800,000	National Debt Services . . . . .	350,000,000
Excise . . . . .	135,900,000	Payments for Northern Ireland Residuary Share, etc. . . . .	3,500,000
Total Customs and Excise	237,700,000	Road Fund . . . . .	15,000,000
Motor Vehicle Duties ...	15,600,000	Payments to Local Taxation	
Estate, etc., Duties .. .	56,000,000	Accounts, etc. . . . .	13,150,000
Stamps ... . . . .	21,000,000	Land Settlement . . . . .	750,000
Land Tax, House Duty and Mineral Rights Duty .. .	1,250,000	Other Consolidated Fund Services . . . . .	2,440,000
Income Tax ... . . . .	265,000,000	TOTAL CONSOLIDATED FUND SERVICES . . . . .	384,840,000
Super Tax ... . . . .	61,000,000		
Excess Profits Duty, etc. ..	8,000,000		
Corporation Profits Tax ..	20,000,000		
Total Inland Revenue . . .	432,250,000		
<b>TOTAL RECEIPTS FROM TAXES</b> ... . . . . .	<b>685,550,000</b>		
Post Office . . . . .	53,500,000		
Crown Lands . . . . .	900,000		
Interest on Sundry Loans ...	12,250,000		
Miscellaneous:-			
Ordinary Receipts ... . .	11,850,000		
Special Receipts .. . .	30,000,000	TOTAL SUPPLY SERVICES	405,186,000
<b>TOTAL RECEIPTS FROM NON-TAX REVENUE</b> ...	<b>108,500,000</b>		
<b>TOTAL REVENUE</b> ..	<b>£794,050,000</b>		
Borrowings to meet Expenditure chargeable against Capital . . . . .	£8,577,000		
		Expenditure chargeable against Capital . . . . .	£8,577,000

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## Income Tax.

### TAXATION IN FORCE, 1920-1924.

#### Standard Rate of Tax—

1920-1922	...	...	...	...	6/- in the £
1922-1923	..	..	..	..	5/- in the £
1923-1924	..	..	..	..	4/6 in the £

The following allowances, deductions and reliefs were granted to individuals whatever the total amount of income:—

Earned Income Allowance:—One-tenth of the earned income, not exceeding £200 for any individual.

Personal Allowance:—Married persons, £225; other persons, £135.

Increased Personal Allowance where wife has earned income: Up to £45.

Widowers or Widow's housekeeper taking care of children: £45.

Unmarried person's widowed mother taking care of children: £45.

Children under 16 years of age or over if continuing full-time education: £36 for one child and £27 for each subsequent child.

Certain Dependent Relatives incapacitated by old age or infirmity: £25 for each such relative.

Allowance for life insurance premiums (Tax calculated at defined rates on premiums subject to various restrictions.)

Dominion Income Tax relief.

Total Net Receipt of Income Tax, 1923-24, £269,331,000.

## Super Tax.

### Distribution of Incomes, 1921-22.

Assessments made at

April 30th, 1923

Class Exceeding	Not Exceeding	Total Incomes Assessed	Number of Persons
2,000	...	2,500	17,910
2,500	...	3,000	13,519
3,000	...	4,000	16,741
4,000	...	5,000	9,607
5,000	...	6,000	6,218
6,000	...	7,000	4,320
7,000	...	8,000	3,053
8,000	...	10,000	4,039
10,000	...	15,000	4,814
15,000	...	20,000	2,054
20,000	...	25,000	1,067
25,000	...	30,000	685
30,000	...	40,000	677
40,000	...	50,000	344
50,000	...	75,000	362
75,000	...	100,000	117
100,000	...	...	192
		Total ... 541,285,016	85,719
		Super-Tax Payable.	Estimates, 1921-22.
		Number of Persons charged ... ... ...	90,000
		Net Super-Tax payable ... ... ...	£73,000,000

**Death Duties.**

## ESTATE DUTY.

When the net principal value of estate :—	Rate per cent.	of	Number of Estates Liable to Duty, since 1919	1922-23.	Net Receipts, 1922-23.
Exceeds £	Not Exceeds £				
... 300	... 300	30/- (each estate)	25,143	...	37,341
300 ... 500	... 500	50/- (each estate)	14,970	...	37,820
500 ... 1,000	... 1,000	2	2,1051		
1,000 ... 5,000	... 5,000	3	23,766	...	1,884,211
5,000 ... 10,000	... 10,000	4	5,127	...	1,736,594
10,000 ... 15,000	... 15,000	5	2,014	...	1,487,846
15,000 ... 20,000	... 20,000	6	1,027	...	1,192,066
20,000 ... 25,000	... 25,000	7	610	...	1,070,102
25,000 ... 30,000	... 30,000	8	383	...	975,623
30,000 ... 40,000	... 40,000	9	550	...	1,844,503
40,000 ... 50,000	... 50,000	10	376	...	1,501,907
50,000 ... 60,000	... 60,000	11	207	...	1,298,907
60,000 ... 70,000	... 70,000	12			1,268,576
70,000 ... 75,000	... 75,000	13	240	...	1,312,396
75,000 ... 80,000	... 80,000	13			
80,000 ... 90,000	... 90,000	13	136	...	898,502
90,000 ... 110,000	... 110,000	14			768,558
110,000 ... 130,000	... 130,000	15	162	...	1,502,945
130,000 ... 150,000	... 150,000	16	*		777,898
150,000 ... 175,000	... 175,000	17			1,101,814
175,000 ... 200,000	... 200,000	18	69	...	995,138
200,000 ... 225,000	... 225,000	19			959,796
225,000 ... 250,000	... 250,000	20	30	...	661,958
250,000 ... 300,000	... 300,000	21	23	...	1,121,302
300,000 ... 350,000	... 350,000	22			1,298,501
350,000 ... 400,000	... 400,000	23	30	...	1,227,278
400,000 ... 450,000	... 450,000	24			542,797
450,000 ... 500,000	... 500,000	25	9	...	956,122
500,000 ... 600,000	... 600,000	26			1,769,301
600,000 ... 800,000	... 800,000	27	11	...	1,894,408
800,000 ... 1,000,000	... 1,000,000	28	2	...	472,617
1,000,000 ... 1,250,000	... 1,250,000	30			1,595,395
1,250,000 ... 1,500,000	... 1,500,000	32	9	...	1,656,925
1,500,000 ... 2,000,000	... 2,000,000	35			3,066,642
2,000,000 ... 2,500,000	... 2,500,000	40	3	...	1,237,506
2,500,000 ... 3,000,000	... 3,000,000	40	1	...	
3,000,000 ...	... 40	2	2	...	3,172,993

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## Legacy Duty and Succession Duty.

The current scale of rates of Legacy Duty and Succession Duty is as follows:—

Relationship of the Beneficiary to the Author of Bounty	Rate of Duty per cent.	Net Receipt 1922-23
Husband or wife or child or lineal descendant of child, father or mother or any lineal ancestor	1	...
Brother or sister, lineal descendant of brother or sister	5	...
Any other person, including any related only by natural tie	10	...

$\text{£}7,956,069$

## Import Duties.

The chief Import Duties as revised by Mr. Snowden in his 1924 Budget are:—

Article.	Rate.	Rate before 1924 Budget.
Sugar ... ... ...	From 5/7 to 12/4 per cwt.	From 12/4 to £1 5s. 8d. per cwt.
Tea ... ... ...	4d. per lb. ...	8d. per lb.
Cocoa ... ... ...	14/- per cwt. ...	£1 8s. per cwt.
Coffee (raw) ... ...	14/- per cwt. ...	£1 8s. per cwt.
Raisins, Figs, and Dried Plums ... ...	7/- per cwt. ...	10/6.

Unaltered Duties include:—

Spirits—£3 15s. 4d. per proof gallon.

Wine—from 2s. 6d. to 6s. per gallon.

Tobacco (Unmanufactured)—9s. per lb.

Cigars—15s. 7d. per lb.

Cigarettes—12s. 7d. per lb.

The net receipts from Import Duties (i.e., Customs) for 1923-24 were £120,294,695. The estimated revenue from this source for 1924-25 is £101,800,000.

## Corporations Profits Tax.

The Corporations Profits Tax ceased to be payable on all profits accruing after June 30th, 1924, as laid down in the Finance Act of 1924. The tax applied to profits accruing on and after the 1st January, 1920. The rate at which the tax was charged was 1/- in the £ (per cent.), but provision was made for:—

- (a) Excluding the first £500 of annual profit from the charge.
- (b) A limitation of the total duty payable to 2/- in the £ (10 per cent.) on the profit remaining after payment of any interest or dividend at a fixed rate on any debenture stock, preference shares (so far as the dividend was paid at a fixed rate), or permanent loan issued before the Finance Act, 1920.

Net Receipts, 1922-23 ... £18,814,570

## OUR ADVERTISERS

THREE PAPERS which are recommended to every reader of the *Socialist Annual* :—

THE DAILY HERALD. Labour's only daily paper. Edited by Hamilton Fyfe. (See page 1.)

THE NEW LEADER. The I.L.P. weekly paper. Edited by H. N. Brailsford. A great organ of constructive Socialism. (See cover.)

LANSBURY'S LABOUR WEEKLY. G.L.'s new popular venture. (See page 262.)

THREE PRINTING FIRMS for our readers :—

THE BLACKFRIARS PRESS, LTD. (See advert. page viii.)  
17-23 ALBION STREET, LEICESTER.

Our own Party Press, rapidly forging ahead and making a name for itself by reason of the quality of the work turned out. Wonderful progress has been made in the brief six years of its being. Commencing in 1919 with a staff of 17, the Press now employs 84. The Press does not confine itself to one class of work, such as leaflets, pamphlets, books, etc., for the Labour Movement, but is now turning out beautiful book-work and art weeklies for London publishers, as well as miscellaneous catalogues, posters, calendars, magazines and general business stationery of a very high order and without unnecessary cost. The results speak well for the efficient way the manager, Mr. W. W. Borrett, deals with the work and the care taken by the staff in general. The Press has recently extended by taking over a branch in London at 32 Furnival Street, Holborn, where the same tradition is being carried on, and where, no doubt, the business will soon be increasing in the same way as at Leicester.

THE VICTORIA HOUSE PRINTING COMPANY. Owned by the Labour Movement. Printers of the *New Leader*, *Daily Herald*, etc. (See cover.)

THE CALEDONIAN PRESS, LTD. Printers of many Trade Union and Labour journals. (See page 98.)

EDUCATIONAL BODIES.

RUSKIN COLLEGE. The oldest residential Labour College.

(See pages 30 and 72.)

WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION. (See pages 29 and 178.)

WORKERS' TRAVEL ASSOCIATION. (See page 155.)

162 BUCKINGHAM PALACE ROAD, S.W.1.

The W.T.A. was founded in 1921 and seeks to foster a friendly international spirit amongst all workers. In 1921 about 1,000 workers went abroad under its auspices, while in 1922 the number increased to 2,000, and in 1924 to 2,600—while about 600 came to England for short visits from Continental countries. 1925 bookings are far in advance of any previous year.

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THE LABOUR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT. (See page 28.)

162 BUCKINGHAM PALACE ROAD, S.W.1.

Secretary : R. PAGE ARNOT. Tel. No. : VICTORIA 1046.

All Trade Unions, Socialist Societies, Co-operative Organisations, Trades Councils, Labour Parties, Trade Union Branches, and other recognised Labour bodies are eligible to affiliate. Members of such bodies are eligible as individual members.

The object of the Department is to co-operate with Labour, Socialist and Co-operative movements in promoting and carrying out research of importance to Labour, to supply information to Labour publications, etc.

The L.R.D. is also ready to undertake large special enquiries and investigations on behalf of Trade Unions and other Labour organisations.

It publishes regularly the *Monthly Circular* which provides an amount of concise information month by month on Labour, municipal, capitalist and international affairs. The *Monthly Circular* is supplied only to members and affiliated societies.

The minimum subscription for members (inclusive of the copy of *Monthly Circular*) is 10/6 per annum. For Trades Councils and other local Labour bodies the minimum annual affiliation fee is £1 and for National Trade Unions the affiliation fee is on a graduated scale according to membership.

## SOCIALIST ANNUAL, 1925

THE LABOUR PUBLISHING CO., LTD. (See page 206.)  
38 GREAT ORMOND STREET, LONDON, W.C.1.  
*Managing Director : B. N. LANGDON-DAVIES.*

This Company was formed at the end of 1920 for the publication of books of interest and value to the Labour movement. It has published so far about 150 books covering a very wide range of subjects. Where they have a political or social bearing, it has been the aim of the company to publish what are considered to be valuable and honest contributions to the thought of the movement, irrespective of whether the tendency was to the right or to the left. Besides the books for which the company has had the full responsibility, it has also published books for, or in conjunction with, various organisations within the movement. In such cases it acts primarily as a business agent and exercises less control over the selection of the subjects. In addition to such political and social books the company has for the last year or more extended its scope so as to include books which have no direct connection with the Labour and Socialist movement, but are of more general interest. In these cases it has always aimed at producing books of literary or artistic interest to the people as a whole, rather than to any privileged sections, and at making them as cheap as present day prices, good workmanship and trade union conditions would allow. In four years it has been able to attain the position of by far the largest book publishing concern in the Labour and Socialist movement of the world.

LEONARD PARSONS, of DEVONSHIRE STREET, W.C., publishes a number of works of special interest to Labour people. Recently he has issued three books by "Iconoclast" (Mary Hamilton). These brilliant biographical sketches, "The Man of To-morrow," "J. Ramsay MacDonald, 1923-25," "Margaret Bondfield," should be read by all our readers.

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ROYAL ARSENAL CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY, LTD.  
(See page 244.)

*Head Office : 147 POWIS STREET, WOOLWICH, S.E.18.*

The Society was founded in 1868 by a few working men in Woolwich Arsenal. The Society's trade is £3½ millions per annum; share and loan capital, £1,450,000; reserve funds

£213,115, and membership 110,000. During the six years, 1918-23, there was a net increase of the Society's membership of over 45,000 members, and an increase of over £563,000 in the share and loan capital. In addition to its trade organisation, the Society controls the "McLeod" char-a-bancs. In 1919, "Shornells," the beautiful mansion on Borstall Heath, was acquired by the Society as a Jubilee Memorial, and the house and grounds are now available for week-end schools, summer schools, conference gatherings, socials, etc. The delightful woods at Abbey Wood are also the Society's property and may be hired for recreation purposes, school outings, etc., at a nominal charge. The "McLeod" Scholarship, founded in 1919 (tenable for one year at Ruskin College, Oxford), value £135, is offered annually in August. In December last the members decided, on the advice of the Committee, to acquire from H.M. Government the Well Hall Permanent Housing Estate for the sum of £375,000.

#### THE NATIONAL TAILORING AND CLOTHING GUILD. (See page 108.)

The National Tailoring and Clothing Guild (Glasgow Section) was established in October, 1921, by the Glasgow No. 2 Branch of the Tailors' and Garment Workers' Union. It commenced with a staff of six trade unionists in a small workroom, and had for its primary object the ultimate control of the Tailoring industry by the workers engaged therein. The Guild offered to supply the public with clothing at prices eliminating middlemen's profits. The support and encouragement was at once instantaneous, and eventually the Guild invaded the field of the City Merchant Tailors and opened two handsome front shops, making a total of three retail establishments. The present workroom can accommodate 100 : it possesses up-to-date plant and machinery with a capacity of producing 500 garments per week, and is considered to be one of the finest workrooms in Glasgow. The total staff now numbers 70. The working conditions are considerably in advance of those prevailing elsewhere, and the principle of workers' control is impressed upon every member of the staff. The number of orders executed by the Guild since its establishment is over 15,000, and the cash turnover exceeds £40,000. It operates nationally with Headquarters in Leeds.

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